





BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL  
Dissertation  
GREEK AND ROMAN EMBASSIES, 201-189 B. C.  
~~A Study in Diplomacy~~

by  
Betty Ruth Louison  
(A.B., Brown University, 1939; A.M., Boston University, 1941)  
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
1946





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Approved  
by

First Reader. *Malcolm Edgren*.....  
Professor of Classics  
Second Reader. *Robert E. Moody*.....  
Professor of History

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## INTRODUCTION

I have chosen the period, 201-189 B. C., because it was of great importance in the history of the Greek and Roman worlds. It was the period during which Rome, who had just emerged the victor from the Second Punic War, embarked upon a period of conquest in the East. This period of conquest embroiled her in two wars, one with Philip of Macedon and the other with Antiochus of Syria. Philip of Macedon hoped at that time to become master of Greece, while Antiochus wanted to regain his ancestors' territory in Asia Minor. Other states, such as the Aetolian League, the Achaean League, Athens, Pergamum, and Rhodes, were involved on one side or another in these wars. Their leanings are clear from the diplomatic exchanges which take place during this time.

Our interpretation of the events of this era depends largely on the details which we are able to extract from the fragments of Polybius and Livy's annalistic narrative.<sup>1</sup> When these historians deal with the foreign relations of Rome and the eastern states, relying on vitiated sources,

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<sup>1</sup>See the bibliography for the relation of the sources.

CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It begins with a definition of the term "philosophy" and then proceeds to a discussion of the various branches of the subject. The author then discusses the history of philosophy, from the ancient Greeks to the modern era. He then discusses the various methods of philosophy, such as logic, metaphysics, and ethics. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the importance of philosophy in the modern world.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various branches of philosophy. It begins with a discussion of logic, which is the study of the principles of reasoning. It then discusses metaphysics, which is the study of the nature of reality. Finally, it discusses ethics, which is the study of the principles of morality.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART

they lose sight of the original chronological relations between diplomatic manœuvres.<sup>1</sup> Such failure, whatever the causes, to portray the diplomacy of the period in a strict chronological framework explains, to give the most significant example, our inability to see clearly the chain of events which led Rome, although she was worn by the Second Punic War, to enter upon conquest in the East.

Interest in this period has stimulated the writing of many studies which deal with diplomatic relations between Rome and the Hellenistic states. Such studies have, however, treated almost exclusively the relations between Rome and the Greek states or those among the Greek states.

In this dissertation I include diplomatic exchanges which occurred from 201 to 189:

1. from Rome to the eastern states
2. from the East to Rome
3. among the eastern states themselves.

I correlate them in such a way that the original chronology of the diplomatic events would become as clear as possible.<sup>2</sup> Each embassy bears a number. Although the embassies sent by the Roman Senate to the East were of utmost significance, we lose sight of their significance, if we do not have a

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<sup>1</sup>This can be noted in Appendix I which deals with the rejected embassies.

<sup>2</sup>Embassies from Rome to Carthage and Numidia have been omitted, because this work treats only Rome's contact with the East, her two wars there.





record of the eastern legations sent in answer to them, or of those to which the Roman embassies reply. It is important to know, for example, that Rhodes and Pergamum sent ambassadors to Rome in 201 and that Rome sent a legation in 200 in answer to these. But, it is far more important to have records of both and to be aware of their workings in regard to each other.

In addition to the embassies mentioned above, I include in the discussion embassies which the consuls themselves dispatched because of their relative importance in the chronology of diplomatic workings of the Senate and the consuls.

In this study, I present (1) the given reasons for which the embassies were sent; (2) causes and motives underlying the given reasons; (3) their instructions and duties; (4) the personnel chosen for the missions, and, in so far as may be known, their personal histories, official importance, their place in diplomatic circles; (5) the places to which they were sent and their activities there; (6) their success or failure with other governments; (7) reports back to their own governments; (8) immediate results; (9) and the ultimate results.

There are embassies in the sources which I reject as annalistic inventions or additions. These I arrange according to year in an appendix, giving whatever information the sources do and then my reasons for rejecting them. They



do not fit into the chronological scheme; they crept into the record of Livy's sources, precisely because the chronological framework had disappeared, thus resulting in a confusion in the interpretation of the motives which led to the displacement of events. The failure of Livy to mention important diplomatic events now recovered from inscriptions has been noted. See, for example, the embassy which Lampsacus sent to western Massilia (Embassy 46). An appendix also covers the numbers comprising each of the embassies--these are listed by number from Rome to Greece, Greece to Rome, and among the Greek states.

Other appendices cover the Greek and Roman personnel who had connections with the various missions, with their official positions and dates of such in their respective governments and the embassies in which they took part. In these appendices I refer to Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft which is an encyclopedic arrangement of figures in the Roman and Greek worlds and includes references on the subjects to primary sources, in which the data can be checked.

In another appendix, I point out the reasons for which the embassies were sent with examples of each.

Still another appendix includes reasons for which the embassies of the period were dispatched with examples of embassies under each.

From such a correlation, students of Greek and Roman diplomacy of this particular period will have a complete





work on the diplomatic relations between Rome and the Greek states and within Greece itself. They will learn the methods of appointing and dispatching ambassadors.

Ancient history students will also find this study useful in understanding historical events which occurred during this period and their effect on later periods.

This work elucidates the relations among the various states for students who are interested in foreign relations, who delve into the causes of war and the motives for a peace. It furnishes a clear-cut picture of the diplomatic activities of the Roman Senate, the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, the Seleucid, Macedonian, and Egyptian Empires, and other Hellenistic states in an eventful period of ancient history--a short period of thirteen years filled with outstanding events, the fighting of two wars. It throws light on Rome's imperialistic and commercial policies, her aggression in the East, the tendencies of Philip of Macedon in Greece and of Antiochus of Syria in Asia Minor.

This dissertation includes an extensive bibliography of ancient sources and modern authorities in the field of Roman and Greek history, diplomacy, maps which bear every location mentioned.

An index gives the names of the states in alphabetical order and in separate column the number of each embassy sent out by them.

In conclusion, this chronological scheme of the



diplomacy of this period embodies not only the diplomatic events and their importance but also the historical, military, and political events of this troubled period (201-189). It further throws light on the historiography of the main sources, Polybius and Livy.





# MAP I





## PRELIMINARIES TO 201 B. C.

The Second Punic War was no sooner over than Rome became engaged in a second war with Macedonia. While Rome had been preoccupied with her war against Carthage, Philip V, the King of Macedon, sought to gain control of the Aegean Sea by establishing himself on the shores of Asia Minor and Thrace. To this end, Philip made an alliance with Hannibal in 215 B. C.,<sup>1</sup> promising to give him aid against Rome on condition that the Carthaginian support Philip's demands for the Roman possessions on the coast of Illyria. While the alliance was more advantageous to Hannibal than to Philip, since no mention was made of the disposal of the Carthaginian conquests from Rome,<sup>2</sup> Philip hoped to share in the defeat of Rome and so to keep her away from the East.

Meanwhile, in 212, Rome formed an alliance with the Aetolian League as a protective measure against Philip and Hannibal: the Aetolians were to keep the Macedonian

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<sup>1</sup>All dates used in this paper will be B. C.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxiii. 33. 10-12; Appian Mac. 1; Polybius vii. 9. 11 states that the pledge bound only Philip, but each was to war against the other's enemies. See M. Hølleaux, Rome, la Grèce, et les Monarchies Hellénistiques au IIIe Siècle av. J. C., (Paris, 1921), p. 181, n. 2; Hølleaux, "Rome and Macedon", Cambridge Ancient History, VIII (1930), 119, n. 1.





preoccupied in the East, while the Romans could concentrate all their efforts against Carthage. Rome, on her part also, was to help the Aetolians by sea. Neither party was to make a separate treaty; thus, Rome and the Aetolian League became socii and amici.

Although the Aetolians kept to their part of the bargain, the Romans, contrary to the terms of the agreement, failed to send the promised naval aid; and consequently the Aetolians had either to seek other means of help against Philip or to come to terms with him.

Several neutral Greek states, fearing Macedonian power, made attempts to reconcile the Aetolians with Philip. In 208, Egypt and Rhodes sent ambassadors to make peace between Philip and the Aetolians, but were unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> In 207, legates from Egypt, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Mytilene, and Athens appealed for peace to the Aetolians. Unable to carry on without Roman assistance, the Aetolians were finally compelled in 206 to come to terms with Philip and so broke their alliance with Rome.<sup>2</sup> The year after (205), Rome, too, made a treaty with Philip in order to be free to continue her fight against Carthage. Thus, the First

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxviii. 7. 14. (P) will be used in references from Livy, if they are drawn ultimately from Polybius. See bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxix. 12. 1; xxxvi. 31. 11.



Macedonian War ended with the Peace of Phoinike.<sup>1</sup> But, the war with Carthage continued until victory in 202.

Meanwhile, Philip of Macedon subdued several free cities of Asia; such as, Chalcedon, Lysimachia, and Cius, which were members of the Aetolian League.<sup>2</sup> He also captured Byzantine Perinthos and Thasos, free trading cities situated on the Black Sea trade route. Their seizure was a danger to the island of Rhodes, which was an important trading center outside Greece proper. Rhodes policed the Aegean Sea and so became the main obstacle to Philip's advances in Asia Minor. Because of the Macedonian aggression against the free cities, Rhodes saw the need for action and decided to declare war on Macedonia.<sup>3</sup> Rhodes had tried during the First Macedonian War to reconcile the Aetolians with Philip, because she feared for her commerce.<sup>4</sup> Pergamum, a kingdom in Asia Minor, also regarded Philip's aggression as a danger and joined forces with Rhodes. Thus, the clouds of a new war were gathering.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxix. 12. 14.

<sup>2</sup>The league consisted of towns and cities which were for the most part autonomous and had expanded greatly between 275 and 220. It had a democratic form of government and was strong when city-states became weak.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xv. 23. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xi. 4. 1; Livy (P) xxviii. 7. 14.



201 B. C.

Livy tells us that at the time of the Rhodian and Pergamene action against Philip Athens sent an embassy to Rome to report his aggression in Asia Minor. That this embassy came to Rome in the autumn of 201 is an annalistic error.<sup>1</sup>

Rhodes and Pergamum directly attacked Philip by a blockade at Bargylia in the winter of 201-200, after

1. Pergamene embassy to Rome in the autumn, 201. having sent embassies to Rome in the autumn of 201.<sup>2</sup> According to Polybius these embassies were dispatched to Rome

at the beginning of the "bad season" ( τοῦ κατεμώρου ἔτους.

2. Rhodian embassy to Rome in the autumn, 201. καταρχομένου ) in which P. Sulpicius Galba was elected consul. Livy dates them together with his Athenian appeal.<sup>3</sup>

Some historians have questioned the inclusion of Pergamum among the adscripti of Rome in the Treaty of

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 24. 3; Livy xxxi. 2. 1; Appian Mac. 4. 2; Justinus xxx. 3. 5. Livy's phrase, sub idem fere tempus, refers to the time of the annalistic preces Atheniensium (xxxi. 1. 10). On relations between Rome and Rhodes, see Livy xxvii. 30. 4; xxviii. 7. 13; xiv. 25. 9.

<sup>3</sup>See p. II *infra*; Appendix I.





Phoinike, since that state remained friendly to the Aetolian League, even though the League had made a separate peace with Philip in 206, contrary to the Roman-Aetolian alliance of 212.<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that Pergamum had a treaty with Philip, for that state had had no part in the war since 208, and would not have had to break with the Aetolian League or make peace with Philip in order to keep faith with Rome. The other embassy was from Rhodes, which had no place in the Treaty of Phoinike. Therefore, it is impossible to base Rome's actions on the treaty.

The purpose of the Pergamene and Rhodian embassies was to report Philip's aggression against the free cities of Asia and his further enterprises in the Aegean and Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> This, unlike the alleged report of Athens,<sup>3</sup> was a legitimate complaint against Philip. At the time of these embassies, as has been said above, Philip was blockaded by Pergamene and Rhodian forces at Bargylia. He had already learned that the Romans had won the Second Punic War; therefore, he was anxious not only about the strength of Pergamum and Rhodes, but he also had to fear that of Rome. Besides, he was aware of the embassies which Pergamum and

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<sup>1</sup>Täubler, op. cit., p. 215; Holleaux, Rome, pp. 204-5, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 2. 1----nuntiantes Asiae quaeque civitates sollicitari.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix I; p. 10 supra.





Rhodes sent to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that the envoys of Rhodes and Pergamum informed the Senate of a pact between Philip and Antiochus III of Syria, which had been secret up to that time. This pact was formed in 202 for the purpose of dividing the Egyptian Empire between Syria and Macedonia, but Philip immediately violated the agreement by subduing the free cities of Asia Minor in 202. Yet, such an agreement did exist between the two great eastern powers, and held potential danger to Rome. The ambassadors may have stressed this threat and the importance of the eastern situation for Rome more than they stressed their own grievances.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the Syro-Macedonian pact by the Romans was indeed a blow to Philip, but he did not recognize the importance of the fact. For, the Roman Senate now changed its policy in regard to the East. It promised the Rhodian and Pergamene embassies that it would look into the eastern situation.<sup>3</sup> Although its answer, as seen in Livy, was vague, the Senate abandoned its policy of disinterest and indifference in eastern affairs that characterized its attitude during the First Macedonian War, when Rome violated her alliance of 212 with the Aetolian League against

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 24. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius iii. 2. 8; xv. 20. 1; xvi. 1. 9; Livy (P) xxxi. 14. 5; Appian Mec. 4. 1; Justinus xxx. 2. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxi. 2. 2.



Philip in order to continue her struggle with Carthage. It seems that Rome had had no real interest in Greek affairs; her lack of interest and her inaction in the First Macedonian War, as shown by her neglect of the Aetolian League, gave Philip a free hand in the East. By 201, however, the situation had changed. Rome was freed of the Carthaginian menace and now turned her attention to the East.



200 B. C.

Rome's sudden concern with the eastern situation resulted from imperialistic or commercial reasons. Perhaps, the defense of the Greek states gave Rome the stimulus to oppose Philip, which she did not have in the First Macedonian War. Or, the report of the Syro-Macedonian pact, which has already been discussed, may have changed Rome's attitude in regard to the East.

Although the Senate seemed eager to intervene in eastern affairs after the report of the Rhodian and Pergamene embassies, the Roman people, worn and tired with many years of war, were reluctant. They were satisfied to let the East take care of itself. P. Sulpicius Galba, one of the consuls who took office on the Ides of March, 200, proposed in the popular assembly the passage of a law (rogatio) declaring war on Macedonia for the wrongs and weapons that Philip had brought against Roman allies (socii). The people rejected the proposal.<sup>1</sup> But the Senate decided that the consuls should make the sacrifices which were customary in the event of war, that they should pray that the war would go well for the Romans, their allies,

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 2. 1.

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and the Latin name.<sup>1</sup>

Now, in taking action on the complaints of Rhodes and Pergamum, the Senate sent three legati to the East,

3. Roman Legati  
to the East in  
spring of 200. C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus,  
and P. Sempronius Tuditanus.<sup>2</sup> Of the  
three, Polybius mentions only Lepidus by  
name.

According to the annals, as seen in Livy, these ambassadors were to visit only Egypt to report the Roman victory of 202 over Carthage, to thank the King of Egypt for his past loyalty and to ask for support, if Rome should be compelled to declare war on Philip.<sup>3</sup>

It is not logical that the legati should report in 200 a victory which occurred in 202.<sup>4</sup> At this time Egypt was weak. In 203, Ptolemy IV Philopator had died; and the government fell into the hands of regents who ruled for Ptolemy V Epiphanes, a mere child. Anxious about the course which Antiochus of Syria might take, Egypt had in 203 sent

<sup>1</sup>The Senate referred the consul to the fetiales, priests whom the Romans consulted as a formality at the beginning of war. See Livy xxxi. 8. 3; xxxvi. 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 2. 3--interim means while the Senate was waiting for the consuls to return to Rome. See Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxi. 2. 3-4; T. Walek-Czernecki, "Les Origines de la Seconde Macédonienne Guerre", Eos, XXXI (1928), 380 and G. De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, (Torino, 1917-23), IV, 1, 28 agree with Livy in regard to the purpose of the embassy.

<sup>4</sup>This refers to the victory at Zama.

1894

and the other side of the mountain is covered  
with dense forest. The road is very rough  
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an embassy to Rome. The embassy reported the accession of the new king and asked the Senate to mediate between Egypt and Syria.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Egypt sent an ambassador to Philip to make an agreement for the marriage of Philip's daughter to the King of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Egypt also sent an envoy of good will to Antiochus.<sup>3</sup> Egypt tried to have friendly relations with the three great powers and was, in a sense, "playing both ends against the middle".

Egypt could not in 200 oppose Philip, for her possessions were in danger because of the Syro-Macedonian pact which planned the partition of the Egyptian Empire. Antiochus of Syria planned to reorganize his whole empire by recovering land which Egypt had taken from his ancestors.<sup>4</sup> Although Egypt feared both Philip and Antiochus, she would have preferred to have Philip the stronger of the two.

It seems unlikely that the Roman embassy had the single purpose of mediating between Syria and Egypt. Had this been so, it would have gone directly from Rome to Ptolemy at Alexandria--a voyage of only fifteen days--<sup>5</sup> and then on to Antiochus. From the evidence that the envoys

1 See p. 15 *supra*; Polybius xv. 25. 14.

2 Justinus xxxi.<sup>32</sup>-3.

3 Justinus xxxi. 1. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius v. 67. 8.

<sup>5</sup>See Bickermann, RP, IX (1935), 165.





made visits to several states in Greece before going to Egypt and Syria, it follows that the embassy had the larger task of winning the support of various states against Philip.

Although the embassy left Rome in the spring of 200, after the rejection of the first war vote, to be sure, but still confident that Rome would eventually declare war, it stopped first in Epirus, where its proposal received a cold reception. At Athamania, the next stop, it did not meet with success; for that state dared not be too friendly to Rome, since her territory bordered Macedonia. The legation went on to Naupactus for the purpose of gaining the good will of the Aetolian League.<sup>1</sup>

There, the Romans were most unwelcome. The Aetolians had sent to the Senate in 202 for aid against Philip's attack on Lysimachia, Cius, and Chalcedon, which were members of the Aetolian League. At that time, the League, having no economic or military resources, needed help. The Senate turned aside the appeal. The Senate recalled that the League had violated the Roman-Aetolian alliance by making a separate peace with Philip in 206,<sup>2</sup> although it conveniently ignored the fact that the Aetolians had made peace with Philip because Rome did not give them aid in the First Macedonian War, as had been agreed.

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 27. 4-5; 25. 2; 34. 2; 35. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxix. 12. 1; xxxvi. 31. 11.





Now, in 200, the Romans tried to renew with the Aetolian League the relations which existed before 206, and so to win its support against Philip. Though hostile to Philip, the Aetolians were tired of war and wanted peace. The Roman legati left Naupactus, therefore, without any assurance of aid.<sup>1</sup>

They came, then, to Aegium, a city of the Achaean League. The Achaeans were old friends of Philip, for they had received Macedonian aid in 208, when they fought against the Aetolians and Spartans. Therefore, they wished to remain at peace with Philip. They also had the problem of dealing with the Spartans who were again attacking their cities.

At Athens, the Roman envoys also received a cold reception, but met with more success than in their previous stops. Attalus, the King of Pergamum, who was a Roman ally, and a Rhodian embassy were at Athens at the same time. Rhodes and Pergamum, we recall, had already begun hostilities against Philip.

After the Roman legati left Rome (spring, 200) and before Attalus arrived in Athens (spring, 200), the Athenians sent envoys to Pergamum to invite Attalus to their city to congratulate him on his success in blockading Philip in Asia and in pursuing Philip thence. They also wanted to

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<sup>1</sup> Polybius xvi. 27. 4.





discuss matters with him. Attalus had recently returned to

Greece and now hoped to renew his  
 4. Athenian em- alliance with Athens. He also learned  
 bassy to Perga- that the Roman legates were in Athens,  
 mum, spring, 200. and he wanted to interview them. The Athenians gave Attalus  
 a hearty reception; they also welcomed the Rhodians, but not  
 the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

The Romans were silent at Athens partly because of  
 the cold reception given them, but mainly because their  
 hands were tied. Rome had not yet voted war; and, there-  
 fore, the legati had no authority to speak. They used

Attalus' popularity to further their  
 3. Roman embassy. own cause there. They told him that  
 the Senate wanted war, that the Roman people were ready for  
 it, but had not yet approved it.

According to the annals of Livy, the Athenians made  
 a second appeal (nova legatio)<sup>2</sup> to Rome in the spring of 200,  
 before war was declared. This time, the Athenians are said

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 25. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 5. 5-6--This embassy does not appear in Polybius. Appian Mac. 4. 2 mentions only one Athenian appeal. For the date, see De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 368, and Holleaux, "L'Election au Consulat de P. Sulpicius", Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique LVI (1932) 531. Livy dates it on the Ides of March (xxx. 5. 2) at the time that the letters came from M. Aurelius legatus and M. Valerius Laevinus propraetor. (omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis.. ..... (5.5) et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laevino propraetore adlatae et Atheniensium nova legatio venit. See Appendix I, p. 165.



to have reported that Philip was approaching their city, and would soon have possession of it, unless they received aid from Rome.<sup>1</sup>

While the ambassadors of Rome, Rhodes, and Attalus were in Athens, Philip's general, Nicanor, was ravaging Attica. This was the invasion which Philip undertook in co-operation with the Acarnanians, who had sought his help against

Athens. It happened that the Athenians  
3. Roman embassy. had murdered two Acarnanian youths, because they had violated the Eleusinian mysteries in the autumn of 201. Immediately after the festival, anti-Macedonian feeling arose in Athens. To avenge the murder, the Acarnanians invaded Attica with Macedonian help. In the midst of the invasion, the Roman legati sent a message to Nicanor, asking that Philip refrain from waging war on any Greek state and submit to a fair tribunal the question of compensation to Attalus for the injuries which he had suffered. In this way, Philip would have peace with Rome. This was an ultimatum, which preceded the formal declaration of war.<sup>2</sup> The legati, in trying to win the support of the

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 5. 5-6--... quae regem appropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, brevique non agros modo, sed urbem etiam in ditione eius futuram, nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret. Livy is confused, for in his discussion of the first alleged embassy from Athens, Philip had already invaded Athenian territory--xxx. 1. 10--quos agro pervastato in urbem compulerat, excitaverunt ad renovandum bellum.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 24, *infra*.



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Greek states which they visited, had reported this communication to Epirus, Athamania, the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues before they arrived in Athens. Of course, they had no authority as yet to give a formal declaration of war; but they expected it soon after the ultimatum. After receiving the message, Nicanor left Attica.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenians held an assembly to discuss the course which Athens should follow in regard to Philip's aggression. At this meeting, a letter came from Attalus, in which he spoke of the benefits which he had given the Athenians, and of his success against Philip in Asia. He also asked the Athenian people to declare war on Philip, while they had the support of Rome, Rhodes, and himself.

The Rhodian ambassadors also urged the Athenians to wage war on Macedonia. Since they received such encouragement and promises of help, and since they feared a strong Macedonia, the Athenians voted for war.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman legati had no part in the assembly; Attalus was their mouth-piece. Yet, the fact that Athens would be on the side of Rome and her allies was some assurance and gave their eastern mission some measure of success.

Leaving Athens the Roman ambassadors continued to Rhodes, where they were most welcome. Rhodes, of course,

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 27. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 26. 7-8.





would be cordial to an opponent of Philip, with whom it was already at war. The Romans heard that Philip disregarded the ultimatum at Athens, sent another general, Philocles, to invade Attica for a second time and himself besieged Abydos.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, war was proposed a second time at Rome and was voted in the middle of the summer of 200.<sup>2</sup> The news of this successful vote and a copy of the senatus consultum reached the legati at Rhodes, and they at once decided to inform Philip of the declaration; for now with the passage of the war proposed they had the authority to do this.<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 200, an Athenian embassy came to Egypt to ask for aid against Philip and the Acarnanians. This Athenian appeal is to be dated by the facts that it reported the Acarnanian invasion of 200 and that it came to Egypt before that state sent an embassy to Rome in the summer of 200 (Embassy 6). Thus, this Athenian appeal to the Egyptian Empire must evidently fall between the spring

5. Athenian embassy to Egypt in summer of 200.

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 30 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 8. 1; Holleaux, CAH VIII, 164, dates it about July; Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte<sup>7</sup> (Berlin, 1881) I, 700.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xvi. 34. 1-7; Livy (P) xxxi. 18. 8-9.

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and summer of 200.<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptian embassy,<sup>2</sup> which reported the Athenian appeal to Egypt (Embassy 5), stated that its government would not aid Athens without Roman consent.

6. Egyptian embassy to Rome, summer of 200.

Egypt was trying to maintain good relations with Rome in the hope that Rome

would help or at least be neutral, if Antiochus should attack Egyptian possessions.

Egypt, however, could not aid Athens or any other state in 200. She had to beware of antagonizing Philip or Antiochus, both of whom were a threat to her possessions. Ptolemy remembered the pact of 202.<sup>3</sup>

The apparent reason for the Egyptian embassy was to inform the Senate of the plight of Athens but hidden was the desire of Egypt to know what plans Rome had concerning the East.

The Roman legati (Embassy 3) were still in Greece, when the Egyptian embassy was in Rome, in the summer of 200, and had not yet visited the Egyptian court. The Senate gave

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 9. 1. Pausanias i. 36. 5 speaks of an Athenian appeal to Rome. See inscription in Hesperia, ed. Meritt (1936), V; J. A. O. Larsen, "The Peace of Phoinikē and the Outbreak of the Second Macedonian War", Classical Philology, XXXII (1937), 21; A. H. McDonald & F. W. Walbank, "The Origins of the Second Macedonian War", Journal of Roman Studies XXVII (1937), 200.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 9. 1-3--in ipso adparatu belli.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 12 supra.



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the embassy from Egypt (Embassy 6) an indefinite reply, that it would watch over the Roman socii; and, thus, it remained for the Roman envoys who came to Egypt at the end of 200 (Embassy 3) to maintain friendly relations and to discuss the eastern situation.

The Roman envoys were still at Rhodes, when M. Aemilius Lepidus, one of them, left for Abydos to bring to Philip the senatus consultum, containing the popular declaration of war.<sup>1</sup> The terms of the declaration were that Philip was not to wage war on any Greek state; was not to attack the possessions of Ptolemy; was to submit to a tribunal the question of compensating Pergamum and Rhodes. In this way, he could still be at peace with Rome. Otherwise, the Romans would be ready for war.<sup>2</sup> Now that Rome was not occupied in the West, she could intervene in Greece.

Some authorities maintain that the message which Aemilius delivered to Philip was not the real declaration but an ultimatum; for it had more clauses than the ultimatum to Nicanor. They state that the declaration should have the same number of clauses as the ultimatum.<sup>3</sup> However, the

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 8. 4--(consuli a patribus permissum) ut, quem videretur ex iis, qui extra senatum essent, legatum mitteret ad bellum regi indicendum.  
xxxi. 8. 2--the senatus consultum instructed the consuls to hold a 3-day supplicatio, ut, quod bellum cum Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac feliciter eveniret.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 34. 1-10; Livy (P) xxxi. 18. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>E. Bickermann, "Les Préliminaires de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine", Revue de Philologie, IX (1935), 173.

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fact that the ultimatum was limited explains that it could not have been the declaration of war. Furthermore, the declaration was not made until the summer of 200; and the legati had no right to report a declaration to Nicanor in the spring of 200. Therefore, the message to Nicanor was the ultimatum, and that to Philip at Abydos was the formal declaration.

In answer to the Roman demands as presented by Aemilius, Philip asked that the Romans observe the treaty<sup>1</sup> and so not to go to war with him. But, if the Romans should declare war on him, he would defend himself. He continued with the siege of Abydos, and the town finally fell in the autumn of 200.<sup>2</sup>

After the fall of Abydos, Philip returned to Greece only to learn that the Romans meant business. For, Sulpicius, the consul to whose lot Macedonia had fallen, was already at Apollonia with his land forces; and the navy was at Corcyra. After performing the necessary sacrifices in Rome and making preparations,<sup>3</sup> Sulpicius had left for Macedonia

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<sup>1</sup>This is in reference to the treaty of Phoinike, the most recent treaty between Philip and Rome.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 34. 10; Livy (P) xxxi. 16. 6--ea oppugnatio diu Philippum tenuit.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxi. 5. 2-4--P. Sulpicius made relatio, and senate decreed that the consuls make sacrifice with hostiae maiores, to such gods as they saw fit, with a prayer and the consuls should consult the senate de re publica deque provinciis.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
LIFE OF THE LATE LORD OF THE  
TREASURY OF THE KINGDOMS OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND IRELAND, JOHN  
MANSFIELD, ESQ. OF THE  
MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ. OF THE  
COUNCIL OF THE KING, AND  
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.  
LONDON, Printed by J. KNEELAND, at the  
Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, in the  
Parish of St. Dunstons, in the County of Middlesex.  
1720.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
LIFE OF THE LATE LORD OF THE  
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BRITAIN AND IRELAND, JOHN  
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THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
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and arrived in the late autumn of 200 (autumno fere exacto),<sup>1</sup> ready for his campaign against Philip.<sup>2</sup>

When Sulpicius arrived in Macedonia, an Athenian deputation met him to ask for help against the invasion of Philip and the Acarnanians.<sup>3</sup> In answer to the appeal, the Roman consul sent C. Claudius with forces to aid Athens, and L. Apustius to devastate Macedonian territory.<sup>4</sup>

Although Livy gives this embassy as the third which Athens sent to the Romans within 201 and 200, it was actually the only embassy of Athens to seek Roman aid directly at that time. Indirectly, Egypt had sought aid for Athens in the summer of 200.<sup>5</sup>

At this time, the Athenians actually had a grievance against Philip; and their complaint to the consul was legitimate. Now, it was clear that Rome had declared war on Philip;

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 22. 4--means about the middle of September. See Holleaux, BCH LVI (1932), p. 533, who says that it was before Apustius took camp in Macedonia, which had to be before October rains. See Livy (P) xxxi. 27. 1--consul Sulpicius eo tempore--.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 18. 9; 22. 4. Autumnus is own time, Polybius has no word for autumn. He places Χρυσ-  
ῶν right after the equinox. See Holleaux, BCH LVI (1932) pp. 536-7.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 14. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Zonaras 9. 15. 3-- Κλαύδιος Κέρτων ὁ ὑποστράτηγος; 9. 15. 2--Sulpicius had Λούκιος Ἀπούστιος as στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ in Macedonia. See Livy xxxi. 27. 1-8.

<sup>5</sup>Larsen, op. cit., p. 22. See Appendix V.

At present the question of the future of the British Empire

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we must all consider carefully.

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and Aemilius had delivered the declaration to him.

When Aemilius returned to his colleagues at Rhodes, after his conference with Philip, an Achaean embassy came

8. Achaean embassy there to ask the Rhodians to come to  
to Rhodes in the terms with Philip. The Achaeans, we  
autumn of 200. recall, were friendly to Macedonia.

The Roman ambassadors, however, urged the Rhodians to continue their friendly relations with Rome and their hostility to Philip. The Romans also asked them not to make a peace with Macedonia apart from them. The Rhodians, convinced by the Roman legati, decided to remain on the side of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

After hearing the Achaean legation, the Roman envoys left Rhodes to complete their mission. They went on to

3. Roman Syria and Egypt.<sup>2</sup> They already had the support  
embassy of Pergamum, Rhodes, and Athens. Now, they had  
to East. to reconcile Antiochus with Ptolemy. That may

have been true; but with the assurance of some Greek assistance, the ambassadors must have had instructions to learn the plans of Antiochus--would he join Philip? Antiochus, to be sure, was anxious to see Philip involved away from Asia, so that he could have security in Asia and make gains in the Egyptian Empire.

But, if Antiochus by any chance thought of joining

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 35. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 27. 5; Livy xxxi. 2. 3-4. See Walek-Czernecki, op. cit., p. 380.





Philip, it was the duty of the Roman legati to prevent it. Their job was to gain Syrian neutrality, even at the expense of Egypt. The Romans would rather have had the support or, at least, the neutrality of a power like Antiochus than that of Ptolemy.<sup>1</sup>

In Syria, the legati made no concessions; for they would have come to light in later negotiations between Syria and Rome, if there had been such.<sup>2</sup> The ambassadors left Syria on friendly terms and went on to Egypt, where they received a good welcome. Ptolemy had learned of the Roman declaration of war and so hoped for Roman neutrality with Antiochus. He was not aware of the friendly relations of Rome with Antiochus.

Having gained some support in Greece and having assured themselves of the good will of Syria and Egypt, the Roman envoys returned to Rome in the spring of 199.

Livy dates the dispatch of the Roman embassy to the East at the time of the Rhodian and Pergamene embassies in the autumn of 201. But the ambassadors were in Athens with Attalus and a Rhodian legation in the late spring of 200. If the embassy was in Athens in the late spring of 200, it must have left Rome in the early spring or late winter so

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<sup>1</sup>Holleaux, "Recherches sur l'Histoire des Négociations d'Antiochos III avec les Romains", REA XV, (1913)1; also, Rome, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>McDonald & Walbank, op. cit., pp. 204-5.



It is a very common mistake to suppose that the  
only way to get the best results is to use the  
best materials. In fact, the best results are often  
obtained by using the best methods.

The first step in the process is to select the  
best materials. This is often done by using the  
best methods. The second step is to use the  
best materials. This is often done by using the  
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The tenth step is to use the best materials.  
This is often done by using the best methods.

as to allow time for the stops, which they made before going to Athens.

Livy states that war had been decided when the legati left Rome. If this had happened, the embassy would not have spent so much time in Greece and would have reported the declaration to Philip immediately. It seems more logical that it left after the rejections of the first vote in order to win Greek support in the event of war and to await developments in Rome. Thus, as soon as war would be voted, it would be prepared with the support of the Eastern states.

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# MAP III







MAP II





199 B. C.

The Romans had tried to win the support of the Aetolian League against Philip in 200, but they were unsuccessful, because the Aetolians had been hurt by the inaction of the Romans in the First Macedonian War and by the rebuff of the Senate to their embassy in 202.<sup>1</sup> After the Roman failure, Attalus of Pergamum as an ally both of the Romans and Aetolians urged the latter to join in the war against Philip. But, he too was unsuccessful in his efforts to woo the Aetolians from their determination to have peace with Philip.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman consul, Sulpicius, who arrived in Macedonia in the late autumn of 200,<sup>3</sup> made still another effort, asking Amynder, the King of Athamania, to be the intermediary between Rome and the Aetolian League. Even though Amynder had been the Aetolian emissary in 209, when, thoroughly discouraged because of the lack of Roman aid, the Aetolians had finally determined on peace with Philip, they paid no

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 17 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 46. 4; 15. 9-10--sed neque illos excire ad arma potuit, guadentes utcumque composita cum Philippo pace.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 26 supra.





attention to his appeal made in behalf of Rome in the winter of 200-199.<sup>1</sup> They wanted peace, and did not turn their minds to war until the end of 199.

Nevertheless, throughout the year,<sup>2</sup> the Romans and their allies continued their efforts to get the Aetolians to join them. An opportunity came when the Panaetolic assembly met at Naupactus in the spring of 199.<sup>3</sup> Usually this assembly met at the end of the winter or at the beginning of spring before the military season,<sup>4</sup> but in this particular year, it met at Naupactus, being a special assembly, at which the Aetolians were accustomed to discuss questions of war and peace. Its main business was presumably

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 28. 3--Amyndandro Aetolos concitandos ad bellum attribuit.

<sup>2</sup>There is nothing on 199 in the remaining fragments of Polybius.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 29. 1--concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod Panaetolium vocant, futurum erat. See Holleaux, Rome, 295, n. 2 on the date; "Zum Pylaicum Concilium.... Eine Erwiderung", Klio, VII (1907), 295; Walbank, op. cit., p. 196.

Holleaux, "Sur les Assemblées Ordinaires de la Ligue Aetolienne", BCH, XXIX (1905) 360, distinguishes between the spring and fall meetings.

H. Nissen, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Vierten und Fünften Dekaden des Livius, (Berlin, 1863), 127, feels that Livy has twisted the assemblies, thinking that the Panaetolic met at Thermon, Naupactus, Heraclea, and Hypata. Livy places the Panaetolic in Thermon, for he thought that Θερμοπύλαι meant Thermopylae, from which he derived Pylaic, placing it in the autumn.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiii. 3. 1--primo vere; 3. 5--secundum vernum aequinoctium.





the Second Macedonian War.<sup>1</sup>

But Rome and her allies were not alone in being represented. Philip's emissaries were also there and were the first to be heard, since Macedonia had the most recent treaty with the Aetolians--that of 206.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally, the purpose of the Macedonian envoys was to persuade the Aetolians not to join forces with the Romans.<sup>3</sup>

9. Macedonian embassy  
at Panaetolic assembly,  
spring, 199.

The alliance of 212, by which the  
Romans and Aetolians promised mutual  
aid and the joint sharing of profits,

had proved to be useless, they said. When the first test of the alliance came in the First Macedonian War, the Romans sent the Aetolian League so little aid that the Aetolians not only suffered greatly but at last were forced to come to terms with Philip in 206. Why should the Aetolians place faith in Roman promises again? It would be much better to preserve peace with Philip.<sup>4</sup> The time would surely come, they argued, when, with Rome as their master, they would seek an alliance with Philip.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It met at Naupactus in 199; Heraclea in 197; also at Lamia and Hypata. See Polybius xx. 10. 14.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 8 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 28. 6--ad Aetolos mittit legatos ne gens inquieta adventu Romanorum fidem mutaret. Also, 32. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxi. 29. 3--experta inutili societate Romana pacem cum Philippo fecissent, compositam semel pacem servare eos debere.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 29. 14--sero ac nequiquam cum dominum Romanum habebitis, socium Philippum quaeretis.





The Athenian legates followed the Macedonians, deploring the devastation of their land by Philip. They begged the Aetolians to take pity on them and to join the Romans in the war against Philip. Next to the gods, they said, the Romans could give the most help.<sup>1</sup>

The ambassador of the Roman consul, L. Furius Purpurio, was the next to speak.<sup>2</sup> Asserting that the Romans had declared war on Philip to the benefit of the Aetolians, in spite of the separate peace with Philip in 206, he appealed for a renewal of the alliance. Whatever the diplomatic value, such an argument was, as we have seen, completely contrary to the facts. At the very time that Philip was attacking the free cities of Asia in 202, Rome deliberately sent away the Aetolian ambassador without fulfilling his request for aid. Nor did the Aetolian appeal for help in 202 have the slightest connection with the Roman declaration of war.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 30. 1-11.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 29. 1--Concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod Panaetolium vocant, futurum erat. Huic ut occurrerent, et regis legati iter adcelerarunt, et a consule missus L. Furius Purpurio legatus venit. Atheniensium quoque legati ad id concilium occurrerunt. See p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup>This envoy was not sent by the Senate, and, therefore, his mission does not bear a number.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 31. 18--quod ad vos attinet, Aetoli, nos pro vobis bellum suscepimus adversus Philippum, vos sine nobis cum eo pacem fecistis.





Continuing, Purpurio recalled the fate of the peoples who had suffered at the hands of Philip, such as the Abydenes, whose town fell to him in the autumn of 200, warning that the same fate might be in store for all the members of the League if they did not stand against Philip. Did they prefer to die with Philip rather than to win with the Romans, he asked.<sup>1</sup>

For the various representatives, the Aetolians had one answer. Damocritus, their strategos and leader of the assembly, wanted to delay the decision to deliberate.<sup>2</sup> Actually, he wished to see which side would be more successful, and to support it. So, the legati all departed without a definite answer and without any assurance of aid.

The delay on the part of the Aetolians caused Sul-picius, the Roman consul and commander of the war, to be eager to bring the war to a conclusion by invading Macedonia before Philip could make a move and before the Aetolians should decide to join him. The plan was that the Romans with the support of Bato, the Dardanian, Pleuratus, the Illyrian, a Roman ally by the Treaty of Phoinike, and Amynder, the Athamanian, would invade Macedonia, while the fleets of Rome, Rhodes, and Pergamum would blockade the

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 31. 20--nunc et nos deum benignitate Punico perfecto bello totis viribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus, et vobis restituendi vos in amicitiam societatemque nostram fortuna oblata est, nisi perire cum Philippo quam vincere cum Romanis mavultis.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 32. 2-5.



Macedonian coast.

In the late spring of 199, the Roman and Macedonian forces met at Lycestis.<sup>1</sup> Philip, noting the strength of the Roman forces, decided to get reinforcements by recalling his troops from Pelagonia, a district of Macedonia. By this withdrawal, Philip left the way open for the invasion of northern Macedonia which was made in the summer by the Dardanian Bato.<sup>2</sup>

About the time of the invasion of Macedonia by Bato, the Romans won a minor victory over the Macedonians at Ottolobus, which is near the Erigon, a branch of the Axios river.<sup>3</sup> The battle probably occurred in July, since Livy speaks of the harvest. After this, Philip withdrew to Banitza, the key to lower Macedonia. Here, he was defeated by Sulpicius,<sup>4</sup> who then advanced into Eordaea in upper Macedonia, while the fleet was still in the Aegean.<sup>5</sup>

The initial success of the Romans and their allies in the invasion of Macedonia and the battle of Ottolobus

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 33. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 33. 6-34. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxi. 34. 8-36. 6. 36. 5--reference to the July harvest, dispersos milites per agros; 36. 9--vagos frumentatores; 39. 4--frumentum quod in agris erat.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 23. 3; Livy (P) xxxi. 39. 7; Strabo vii. 7. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 45. 9-16.



It is the duty of the State to provide for the education of its children, and to this end it is necessary that the State should maintain a system of public schools. The State should also provide for the education of the poor, and to this end it is necessary that the State should maintain a system of public schools. The State should also provide for the education of the poor, and to this end it is necessary that the State should maintain a system of public schools.

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caused the Aetolians to begin to favor them.<sup>1</sup> Following up this situation, toward the end of the summer of 199, the Roman consul sent an ambassador, L. Apustius, to meet an Aetolian legation under the leadership of Pyrrhias at Heraclea. Attalus of Pergamum also went to Heraclea.

Pyrrhias announced that the Aetolian League was ready to declare war on Philip, if Rome and Pergamum would render aid in return.<sup>2</sup> Attalus refused to promise aid, because the Aetolians had not listened to his appeals in 201 and 200. The Roman ambassador, however, made promises. Thus, the Aetolians turned to the side of the Romans and their allies.

Immediately, after the meeting at Heraclea, the combined fleets of Rome, Rhodes, and Pergamum began the siege of Oreus, a Euboean city situated on the coast of Thessaly. This was the last naval battle of the year 199, and occurred at the end of the summer.<sup>3</sup>

News of the invasion of Macedonia, of the battle of Ottolobus, of the siege of Oreus together with that of the meeting at Heraclea reached Thermon, where an Aetolian

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 40. 9-41. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 46. 1-5--Pyrrhias Aetolus princeps legationis eius fuit. See xxvii. 30. 1 on Pyrrhias.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 46. 6-11--inde agitari de Oreo op-pugnando coeptum.





assembly met in the early autumn. This autumn meeting was a regular one and, like the spring assembly, met for the discussion of matters pertaining to war and peace.<sup>1</sup> Since Rome was on the winning side, the Aetolians now wanted to be with them, and so declared war on Philip with the approval of Damocritus, the advocate of delay at the previous assembly in the spring.<sup>2</sup>

After declaring war, the Aetolians joined the Athamanians in ravaging Thessaly and forced Philip to withdraw, when, as a last resort, he attacked Thaumaci.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Romans won a few minor successes, they did not completely conquer Macedonia. With their soldiers in a state of disorder, it was necessary for Sulpicius' successor, P. Villius Tappulus, to restore discipline.<sup>4</sup>

Philip, who had made headway in Asia Minor in 202-1,

<sup>1</sup>Polybius iv. 5. 9--ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος. Polybius xviii. 48. 5-6--ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν σύνοδον. See Pauly-Wissowa, Aetolia, for a summary on Aetolian assemblies. A. Aymard, "Les Stratèges de la Confédération Achaïenne de 202 à 172 av. J. C.", REA, XXX (1928) 3. Holleaux, BCH, XXIX (1905) 362 f.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 40. 9-41. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxii. 4. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 49. 12--quibus creati sunt consules L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus--. xxxii. 3. 2--P. Villius in Macedoniam cum venisset.... Sulpicius was now a proconsul and was waiting for his successor to the consulship, Villius, to arrive. See De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 384. Holleaux, BCH, LVI (1932) 540, n. 5. Villius left home in September (xxxii. 3. 1), being in Corcyra in bad weather (September - October). See Livy (P) xxxii. 6. 1; Holleaux, BCH, LVI (1932) 543, n. 1.

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now in the autumn of 199 looked back upon his failures. He had lost in his fight against the Romans. The Aetolian League had abandoned its alliance with him to join the Romans. Now, the Achaeans, who had always wanted peace with him, began to show signs of changed feeling when they elected as strategos Aristaenus, an anti-Macedonian and pro-Roman.<sup>1</sup> Philip tried to appease the Achaeans by offering them aid against the Spartans who were attacking Achaean cities and towns, but the Achaeans preferred to work out their own defense.

To prevent a Roman-Achaean alliance, Philip sent an embassy to the Achaeans to try to keep them from abandoning him. Its instructions were to promise to bestow upon the Achaeans the cities which Philip had taken from the Eleans and Megalopolitans, if they would aid him against the Romans. In this way, Philip strengthened his relations with the Achaeans, and as the "bad season" would soon set in, Philip left Greece to return to Macedonia for the winter, confident of Achaean support.<sup>2</sup> The arrangement lasted, however, only a year.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 1. 2; Livy (P) xxxii. 19. 1-2--Cycliadan, principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res, expulerant, Aristaenus, qui Romanis gentem iungi volebat, praetor erat.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 47. 1--iam autumnale aequinoctium instabat.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxii. 5. 2-7.





198 B. C.

While Philip was fighting against the Aetolians and Romans in the First and Second Macedonian Wars, Antiochus III of Syria took the opportunity to reestablish the Seleucid Empire of his ancestors, thus, threatening to upset the balance of power among Syria, Macedonia, and Egypt.

To further his progress in the reconquest and reestablishment of his empire, Antiochus made a pact with Philip in 202, kept secret until 201, when Rhodian and Pergamene envoys reported it to Rome.<sup>1</sup> According to the pact of 202, which we have discussed,<sup>2</sup> Antiochus was to regain Coele-Syria. His campaign to reconquer it was successful, and peace which ended the Fifth Syrian War in 198 confirmed his victory over Ptolemy. By his pact with Philip, Antiochus had hoped to have a free hand in Asia Minor and to avoid a clash with Philip by keeping him in Greece. No sooner had Philip made the agreement than he broke it by attacking in 202 free cities in Asia Minor which were members of the Aetolian League and so antagonized Antiochus.

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 10 supra.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 12 supra.



From 200 on, Antiochus pursued his plans to recover territory and to increase his power. In that year, Roman envoys (Embassy 3) visited the Syrian court to learn what course Antiochus would take in the Second Macedonian War. Because he had been aloof in the Second Punic War and the First Macedonian War, and chiefly because he had made a pact with Philip, his course was a matter of concern to Rome. Since Rome was eager to have Syria neutral in the war with Philip and was confident that Antiochus was unfavorably disposed to the Macedonian, her ambassadors in 200 maintained friendly relations with Antiochus.

Antiochus had made headway in Asia Minor and Egypt; and by 198, he was in a position to invade Egypt. Instead of doing so, he concentrated his attention on Asia Minor, causing Rome and Rhodes to fear that he might even help Philip, in spite of the fact that he had assured the Roman Embassy in 200 (Embassy 3) of his friendly attitude toward Rome. The fact that he had made a pact with Philip in 202 left the way open to a renewal of relations with Macedonia and caused Rome some concern.

Because of Antiochus' interest in Asia Minor in 198, the annals according to Livy have held that he invaded Pergamum in that year.<sup>1</sup> This invasion seems to have been confused with the one which took place in the following year,

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxii. 8. 9-16.





197. It is unlikely that Antiochus invaded Pergamum in 198; for Attalus, the King of Pergamum, was at that time involved in the war against Philip, a fact which was beneficial to Antiochus, anxious as he was to prevent the increase of Macedonian power and to see Philip occupied in the war and so unable to interfere with him.

To report this alleged invasion, the annals, as in Livy, have invented a Pergamene embassy to Rome in the spring of 198.<sup>1</sup>

Some time between the spring and summer of 198, the Senate is reported to have sent an embassy to Antiochus in fulfillment of its alleged promise made in the spring of 198 to the spurious Pergamene embassy.<sup>2</sup>

Livy also gives an account of a second Pergamene legation for the summer of 198. Its task was to thank the Senate for having sent an embassy to Antiochus in behalf of Pergamum, and for having removed the danger of further attack by him.<sup>3</sup>

In the same summer, Flamininus, who succeeded P.

<sup>1</sup>This contradicts Livy xxxi. 47. 2.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix I, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxii. 27. 2--eadem aestate. See Appendix I, p. 170.

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Villius Tappulus as consul in Macedonia,<sup>1</sup> engaged battle at the river Aous against Philip. Since most authorities date the battle in June,<sup>2</sup> Flaminius must have arrived in Macedonia in May in order to have had time for the necessary preparations. He had left Rome earlier in the year than former consuls.<sup>3</sup>

After the battle at Aous, the two opposing leaders held a conference, in which Flaminius demanded that Philip remove his garrisons from the Greek states and restore the states which he had ravaged.<sup>4</sup> Philip agreed to free the states which he had captured, not those which he had inherited from his ancestors. Philip, indignant because the Roman consul treated him as defeated, left the conference in wrath with the result that it was a failure for Rome,

<sup>1</sup>Flaminius, the quaestor, who had never been an aedile or praetor, sought the consulship and so offended the tribuni plebis, M. Fulvius, and M. Curius that they opposed the election of Flaminius. A senatus consultum was passed. Livy xxxii. 7. 8-12--patres censuerunt qui honorem, quem sibi capere per leges liceret, peteret, in eo populo creandi quem velit potestatem fieri aequum esse in auctoritate patrum fuere tribuni. See Plutarch, Flaminius 2.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 13. 15. Holleaux, BCH, LII (1928) 444. 6; De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 385; and J. Kromayer, Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland, II, (Berlin, 1907) 108, date it in June. O. Leuza, "Die Feldzüge Antiochos des Grossen nach Kleinasien und Thrakien", Hermes, LVIII (1923) 187, places the battle at the end of the summer.

<sup>3</sup>Plutarch Flam. 3. 4. Livy (P) xxxii. 6. 4--maturato itinere, 9. 6--T. Quinctius, alter consul, maturius quam priores soliti erant consules....

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxii. 10. 1-8.

With regard to the first point, it is to be observed that the present state of the law is not such as to require the payment of a fee for the issue of a writ of habeas corpus. It is, however, a well established principle that the law should be so administered as to secure the most economical and efficient disposal of the business of the courts.

It is, therefore, suggested that the law should be amended so as to require the payment of a fee for the issue of a writ of habeas corpus. This would be in accordance with the principle that the law should be so administered as to secure the most economical and efficient disposal of the business of the courts. It is also suggested that the law should be amended so as to require the payment of a fee for the issue of a writ of habeas corpus. This would be in accordance with the principle that the law should be so administered as to secure the most economical and efficient disposal of the business of the courts.

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since Flaminius had hoped to get the support of Philip's allies and to rid Greece of the Macedonians.

A short time later, probably in July, Philip went to Thessaly and Flaminius to Epirus.<sup>1</sup> During Flaminius' stay in Epirus, the Aetolians invaded Thessaly from the south, and the Athamanians from the west,<sup>2</sup> giving favorable opportunity to Flaminius, returning from Epirus, to invade Thessaly from the north.<sup>3</sup> Seizing Phaloria and Aeginium, strongholds of Thessaly,<sup>4</sup> he met stiff opposition at Atrax, another stronghold, but finally seized it also.<sup>5</sup> After capturing several Phocian and Locrian towns, he turned toward the Gulf of Corinth in the early autumn of 198,<sup>6</sup> where he planned to spend the winter at Anticyra, a Phocian town near the Gulf.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Rome and her allies were making progress against Macedonia both by land and by sea.

The consul's brother, Lucius, who was in command of

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 13. 2-9; 15. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 13. 10 - 14. 4. This may have taken a month.

<sup>3</sup>It took ten days to go to and from Thessaly and ten days for operations there. See Kromayer, op. cit., II, 108.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 14. 4-15. 1; 15. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 14. 4-15. 8; 17. 4-18. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 18. 4-9.

<sup>7</sup>Note 4, supra.



the allied naval forces,<sup>1</sup> had gone during the summer to the Piraeus, the harbour of Athens, to get the ships which Apustius, a lieutenant of the consul Sulpicius, had used in defending Athens in 200 against Macedonian attacks. He was, thus, able in the late summer in combination with the fleets of Rhodes and Pergamum to storm Eretria and Carystus, both in Euboea.<sup>2</sup> In the early autumn, the fleets arrived at Cenchreae, a port of Corinth. Thus, with the land forces of the allies at Anticyra and their naval forces at Cenchreae, they were able to threaten Corinth and hence to use pressure on the Achaeans to join the Roman side in the conflict.

About this time, autumn equinox, (perhaps October) an Achaean assembly met at Sicyon.<sup>3</sup> This assembly was a synkletos, one of the three types of assemblies held by the Achaeans; it was not a regular assembly, but a special meeting held in various main cities of the League to discuss political questions such as those pertaining to alliance and war.

The object of this particular assembly was to discuss

<sup>1</sup>This was at the consul's request. Plutarch Flam. 3. 3, calls Lucius ἀποστὰς ναυῶν. See Livy (P) xxxii. 16. 2 --sub idem fere tempus, quo consul adversus Philippum primum in Epiri faucibus posuit castra, et L. Quinctius, frater consulis ei classis cura maritimaeque orae imperium mandatum at senatu erat....

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 16. 9-17.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 23. 3-13; 22. 10-11; 19. 6-10. See Pausanias vii. 8. 1.





the course which the Achaeans should follow in the Second Macedonian War.<sup>1</sup> Some members favored the Macedonian alliance (*societas*), arguing that they were obligated to him for the assistance which he had given them against the Aetolians and Nabis, the Spartan King, who, they feared, might attack their cities. Others wanted to abandon it for an alliance with Rome since they feared that Philip, once the war was over, would be a hard master.

Attempting to influence the Achaean decision, envoys, L. Calpurnius Piso and the consul's brother, from the allies, sent by Flamininus, as well as a representative of Philip, attended the assembly at Sicyon.<sup>2</sup>

The first to speak at the Achaean assembly was L. Calpurnius Piso. Flamininus as consul had instructed him to try to win the support of the Achaeans by promising them Corinth, which the land and naval forces of Rome and her allies, it will be remembered, threatened.<sup>3</sup>

The Pergamene and Rhodian envoys at the assembly

<sup>1</sup>Besides the synkletei, the Achaeans held synodoi, which met at regular intervals at Aegium up to the year 188. See Polybius xvi. 27. 4; Livy xxxvi. 35. 7 and xxxviii. 30. 2 for the assembly at Aegium. There was a third type of assembly called the archairesia or electoral assembly which met once a year.

For a discussion of Achaean assemblies, see Holl-eaux, BCH, XXIX (1905) 372; Aymard, "Une Hypothèse Nouvelle sur les Assemblées Achaïennes", REA, XXXV (1933) 445-462.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 45. 12; Livy (P) xxxii. 19. 4; 11-13; 21. 21-2; 30.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 43 *supra*.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked up at the sky, which was a pale, hazy blue. The air smelled clean, almost sterile. I took a deep breath, feeling the cold air fill my lungs. I was alone in the vast, open space, and it felt like I had been dropped into a new world. The silence was deafening, and I could hear the faint hum of the car's engine as it idled nearby. I stood there for a moment, trying to absorb everything. The world was so different from what I was used to. It was a strange, beautiful, and terrifying place.

I walked slowly, my feet sinking into the soft, uneven ground. The path ahead of me was shrouded in mist, and I could only see a few steps at a time. The air was thick with a strange, sweet scent that I couldn't quite identify. I felt a sense of wonder and curiosity, but also a deep, unexplained fear. I was alone, and I didn't know where I was or what was out there. The silence was oppressive, and I could feel my heart racing in my chest. I took another step, then another, feeling the ground shift beneath my feet. The mist seemed to be alive, swirling around me like a giant, invisible hand. I was lost, and I didn't know how to get out of this place. The fear was growing, and I could feel my hands shaking. I needed to find a way out, but I didn't know where to look. The world was so strange, and I was so alone.

I continued to walk, my heart pounding in my chest. The mist was getting thicker, and I could barely see my feet. I felt a sense of desperation, knowing that I had to find a way out soon. I looked back over my shoulder, but I couldn't see where I had come from. The world was so different, and I was so alone. I felt a sense of hopelessness, knowing that I was lost in a place I didn't understand. I took a deep breath, trying to calm my nerves. I needed to stay focused, to find a way out. I looked ahead, trying to see through the mist. I felt a sense of determination, knowing that I had to keep going. I took another step, then another, feeling the ground shift beneath my feet. The mist seemed to be alive, swirling around me like a giant, invisible hand. I was lost, and I didn't know how to get out of this place. The fear was growing, and I could feel my hands shaking. I needed to find a way out, but I didn't know where to look. The world was so strange, and I was so alone.

complained of the wrongs which they had suffered because

13. Pergamene embassy  
to the Achaean assembly  
in the autumn of 198.

of Philip and urged the Achaeans  
to support Rome. The Achaeans,  
they implied, might suffer at the  
hand of Philip at a later date,  
regardless of his past favors.<sup>1</sup>

14. Rhodian embassy to  
the Achaean assembly  
in the autumn of 198.

Philip's ambassador, Cleomedon, had the task of convincing the Achaeans that it would be wise to keep their

15. Macedonian embassy  
to Achaean assembly  
in the autumn of 198.

alliance with Philip and, as allies,  
to give him active aid. This task  
was most difficult, especially since

he had to counteract the arguments of the ambassadors of the allies, such as Rhodes and Pergamum, who testified as to the bad conduct of Philip toward their people.<sup>2</sup>

The Athenian envoy complained of the invasion and devastation of Athenian land by Philip, which had taken place

16. Athenian envoy  
at the Achaean assembly  
in the autumn of 198.

in 200, and alluded to the sad  
fate which people, such as the  
Cianians and Abydenes, had

endured because of Philip.<sup>3</sup>

The Achaeans then adjourned to the next day unable as yet to decide upon their course in the war.

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 19. 11-13.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 45 supra.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxii. 21. 21-2.

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On the second day, Aristaeus, elected strategos for 199-8, reviewed the circumstances in a speech which, in spite of his partiality to the Romans, he pointed out conditions as they actually were.<sup>1</sup>

He showed how Philip had allowed towns of his own allies to be captured, how he had made but feeble resistance in the case of Eretria, Carystus, Thessaly, and certain Locrian and Phocian towns. Even now, he said, the allies were attacking Elatea, a city in Phocis, without Philip's intervention in their behalf. The strategos urged the Achaeans to abandon their alliance with Philip and to enter into friendly relations with Rome.

Although their leader favored an alliance with Rome, the Achaeans, still strongly attached to Philip, continued to hesitate in spite of the arguments as to the Macedonian's faithlessness and in spite of the chance to gain Corinth.

Finally, on the third and last day of the assembly, when according to law a decision must be made,<sup>2</sup> after much debating, the Achaeans decided to abandon the Macedonian alliance.<sup>3</sup> Philip now felt defeat to be imminent. The loss of the support of the Aetolian League in 199, had made him

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 13; Livy (P) xxxii. 19. 1-5; 20. 3-21. See De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 403.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 22. 4--supererat unus iusti concilii dies, tertio enim lex iubebat decretum fieri.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 23. 1-2.



anxious to maintain friendly terms with the Achaean League. But, the opposition not only from Rome and her allies, but also from the Achaeans themselves, who had begun to show signs of anti-Macedonian feeling, especially in their election of the anti-Macedonian, Aristaeus, was too much for him.

The Achaeans now joined the allies in an attack on Corinth. The Corinthians, however, remained loyal to Philip; and the attack failed. Philip did not lose the support of the whole Achaean League. Argos, which wished to remain in alliance with Philip, withdrew from the Achaean League and with Corinth supported the Macedonian King.<sup>1</sup> The allies won one victory, however, taking possession of Elatea at this time.<sup>2</sup>

An uprising against Philip occurred at Opus, a Locrian town, about the end of October.<sup>3</sup> Though the date is disputed, the end of October seems to be correct, for the land and naval forces left for their winter quarters then, since the "bad season" was already setting in.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 25. 11-12--et post pactam inter Achaeos ac Romanos societatem duce nobilissimae urbes; Argi et Corinthus, in potestate regis erant, haec ea aestate ab Romanis in Graecia terra marique gesta.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 24. 1-7; Pausanias X. 34. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 32. 1-2--hiems iam eo tempore erat, et, cum T. Quinctius capta Elatia in Phocide ac Locride hiberna disposita haberet. Opunte seditio orta est.





Livy's hiems<sup>1</sup> is best translated as the "beginning of bad weather", since it represents Polybius' ἄρξιν καταρχόμενος. Polybius has no word to denote "autumn" and expresses the idea by the above phrase, and Livy customarily mistranslates it as hiems or winter.

At Opus, Philip suffered both from the loss of territory and men as well as allies; and, therefore, he sent a herald to ask the Roman consul for a conference.<sup>2</sup> The loss of Achaean support was an especially heavy blow to Philip. It seemed that the Greek states were all turning to Rome, whose power they feared and on whose side it would be wise to be, if Rome should indeed be the victor, as seemed likely. In view of his failures, Philip hoped, by having a conference with the Roman leader, to preserve whatever power he still had.

Flamininus agreed to the request, and the conference met at Nicaea in Locris at the end of 198. Most historians date it in November of this year, right after the revolt at Opus.<sup>3</sup> This date fits in with Flamininus' desire for reapp-

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxii. 32. 1-5. See Holleaux, "L'Expedition de Philippe V en Asie en 201 av. J. C." (cont.), REA, XXV (1923) 353-4 for a discussion of the term hiems and of ἀρχὴ κατὰρχόμενος (Oct.-Dec.). Holleaux, "Les Conférences de Lokride et la Politique de T. Quinctius Flamininus", Revue des Etudes Grecques, XXXVI (1923) 168-71.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 32. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 32. 7; Appian Mac. 7; Plutarch Flam. 7. 1-3.



reappointment as commander of the war in the East.<sup>1</sup>

At the Nicaean conference, Flamininus gave his terms. Philip was to leave Greece, to return prisoners and deserters to their states, to surrender to Rome the Illyrian possessions which he had seized after the Treaty of Phoinike in 205, and to restore to Ptolemy the Egyptian towns which he had captured since 203.<sup>2</sup>

Amynder, the King of Athamania, also came to the conference, but remained silent, apparently still fearing Macedonia which bordered his kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

17. Amynder at the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

However, Dionysodorus of Pergamum, who was the first of the Roman allies to speak, made demands;--that Philip return Pergamene ships and captives which he had taken in the battle of Chios in 201 and that he restore the temple of Aphrodite and the Nicephorium.<sup>4</sup>

18. Pergamene envoy at the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

The Rhodian admiral, Acesimbrotus, demanded that Philip evacuate Peraea; remove garrisons from Iasos, Bargylia, and Euromos; restore Perinthos

19. Rhodian Ambassador at the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

<sup>1</sup>The Ides of March, when Roman magistrates took up their duties, fell in January of 197 (Julian). See E. Cavaignac, "La Chronologie Romaine de 215 à 168", *Klio*, XIV (1914) 39-40; Holleaux, *BCH*, LVI (1932) 531 on Roman dates.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 1. 13-4; Livy (P) xxxii. 33. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Livy 32. 32. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 2. 2; 6. 2-8, 7. 3-5.







to the Byzantine Confederacy; and finally leave all commercial ports in Asia.<sup>1</sup> In short, Rhodes wanted Philip to withdraw from Greece and Asia.

The Achaean legates at the conference, Aristaeus and Xenophon, asked for the return of Argos and Corinth.<sup>2</sup>

20. Achaean envoys at the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

The Aetolians, like the other Greek representatives and Flamininus, wanted Philip out of Greece. Phaeneas, one Aetolian envoy, asked for the restoration of the cities which had been members of the Aetolian League and which Philip had captured.

21. Aetolian envoys at the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

Alexander, the other Aetolian envoy, declared that Philip was faithless in war and did not really want peace. He demanded an explanation of the fact that in 206 Philip had made peace with the Aetolians; but in 202, disregarded it by capturing and enslaving members of their League.<sup>3</sup>

Philip, of course, had to defend himself against

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 2. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 1. 4; 2. 5; Livy xxxii. 32. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 2. 6; 3. 11-12; Livy (P) xxxii. 33. 1-8; 9--34. 6.

—and (D) that the ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

... and ...

the various accusations.<sup>1</sup> He also made counter-demands of

22. Macedonian embassy  
to the Nicaean conference in the winter of 198.

Rome and her allies. He hoped to keep a little of what he had gained. He brought with him

his secretaries, Apollodorus and Demosthenes, both Macedonians, the Boeotian Brachylles, and the Achaean Cycliadas.

Philip felt that the <sup>Kings</sup> Attalus and Rome should give him ships and men, for he had not been the aggressor. Technically, Philip was right:--Rhodes and Pergamum, fearing his aggression in Asia Minor, had opened the hostilities against him in 201. Rome had issued an ultimatum to him in 200 and had declared war on him in the same year. Nominally, Rome was the defender of Greek states, but she had intervened for the sake of her own imperialism, commerce, and prestige. Rome and her allies were not interested in technicalities, such as the determination of the aggressor.

Philip agreed to surrender his Illyrian possessions to Rome and to give ships and men to Pergamum. He treated as a joke, however, the claims for the repairs of the temple of Aphrodite and the Nicephorium.<sup>2</sup>

He promised to give Peraea to Rhodes, but refused to leave Iasos and Bargylia. Of the Aetolian cities, he was willing to restore only Pharsalos and Larisa. He wanted to

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 3. 1-12; 8. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 6. 4.





keep Thebes.<sup>1</sup> He would, however, renounce Egyptian towns which he had seized.

Replying to the Achaeans, Philip enumerated the favors which he had bestowed upon them and dwelt on their ingratitude. He agreed, however, to return Argos to their league and to give up Corinth.<sup>2</sup>

Philip was determined to keep certain Greek possessions, such as the strongholds of Chalcis in Euboea, Demetrias in Thessaly, and the Acrocorinth.

The representatives were dissatisfied with Philip's reply, since they wanted him out of Greece; but they were unable to win further concessions.<sup>3</sup>

Flamininus, eager to be appointed proconsul in Macedonia for 197, welcomed Philip's refusal to give in on every issue, since he wanted to delay a settlement of terms with Philip until the Senate made his appointment. He wanted full credit for ending the war and for the terms. He felt certain of the appointment so long as terms had not been made with Philip; since the Senate would not wish to change leaders in the midst of negotiations. Therefore, to further his own personal interest, Flamininus granted Philip an armistice of two months, during which he was to send an

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 8. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 6. 5-8; 8. 8-10.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 7. 7-9. 3; Livy xxxii. 35. 2-36. 3.



embassy to the Senate. The other states would also send envoys.<sup>1</sup>

These ambassadors arrived at Rome at the end of 198 (December), since the conference, which they attended, had been in November. At that time the Senate was discussing the question as to whether both consuls for 197 should go to the province of Gaul or whether one should go to Macedonia.<sup>2</sup> It finally decided to send both to Gaul and to keep Flaminius in Macedonia as commander of the war.<sup>3</sup>

After the senate's decision in regard to the provinces, after the beginning of the consular year,<sup>4</sup> but before Flaminius' re-appointment, Amynder of Athamania came before the Senate, as did legati from Flaminius, namely, P. Fabius Buteo, Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius Nero.<sup>5</sup>

The Aetolians at this time sent Alexander of Isos, Damocritus of Calydon, Dicaearchus of Trichonium, Polemarchus of Arsinae, 24. Aetolian embassy to Rome at the end of 198.

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 10. 1-4; Livy (P) xxxii. 36. 3-10.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 11. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 12. 1; Livy xxxii. 28. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 11. 1; Livy xxxii. 28. 8; for the beginning of the consular year, Livy xxxii. 28. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Polybius xviii. 10. 7-8; Livy (P) xxxii. 36. 10. Only Polybius mentions Appius Claudius Nero.

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Lamius of Ambracia, Nicomachus, the Acarnanian, now from Ambracia, Theodotus of Pherae, from Stratus.<sup>1</sup>

The Achaean envoy to Rome was Xenophon of Aegae,

while Alexander represented

25. Achaean envoy and

26. Pergamene envoy to Pergamum.<sup>2</sup>

Rome at the end of 198.

The Athenians sent Cephisodorus as their legate.

27. Athenian embassy to Rome at the end of 198. Pausanias placed this embassy from Athens in the year 200.<sup>3</sup> Some modern historians

follow him in this, omitting any Athenian legation for 198.<sup>4</sup> However, those, who assign the year 200 as the date for the embassy under Cephisodorus' leadership, have mistaken the date which is, according to Polybius, the winter of 198-7.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible that the Athenians sent envoys to Egypt, Rhodes, and Crete in 200 to ask for aid against Macedonia. But they did not send any to Rome at that time. Their appeal was indirectly reported to the Senate by an Egyptian legation in the summer of 200 (Embassy). In the autumn of 200, Athenian envoys appealed to the Roman consul

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 10. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 10. 11.

<sup>3</sup>I. 36. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Walbank, Op. cit., pp. 312-3.

<sup>5</sup>Polybius xviii. 10. 11. See Nissen, Op. cit., p. 122; Holleaux, REA XXII (1920) 84, 7. 3.



in Macedonia but did not go to Rome (Embassy<sup>7</sup>). Historians who date Cephisodorus' embassy in 200 may have confused the deputation to the consul in 200 with it.

In 198, the Athenians had a right to expect Roman aid, since they had joined in the war against Philip, thus becoming Roman allies.<sup>1</sup> It was, therefore, only logical that they should have come to Rome with representatives of other Roman allies in 198-7 in regard to terms of peace with Philip.

All these embassies (23-27), which arrived at Rome at the end of 198, denounced Philip and tried to impress upon the Senate that so long as the strongholds of Chalcis, Acrocorinth, and Demetrios remained in his hands, Greece would have no liberty. They wanted Philip to withdraw completely from these fortresses and from the rest of Greece.<sup>2</sup>

At the conference held at Nicaea Philip had made a special point of the fact that he intended to keep certain Greek possessions, among them, Chalcis, Acrocorinth, and

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<sup>1</sup>See Inscription Hesperia, ed. Meritt, (1936,) V, 426.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 11. 3-4.

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...



Demetrias. He may have felt that the question of these would not arise again; after all, he had made many concessions to Rome and her allies.<sup>1</sup> Thus, since his legate had no instructions in regard to the three strongholds, he remained silent. Consequently, negotiations for peace were broken off; and hostilities between Rome and Macedonia were renewed.

The failure of the conference at Nicaea and of his embassy to Rome forces Philip to continue in a hopeless war.

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 52-3 supra.



# MAP IV



## ASIA MINOR AND THE PROPONTIS





197 B. C.

In 198, Antiochus III of Syria, having won the Fifth Syrian War, made considerable progress against Egypt, by acquiring Coele-Syria in fulfillment of one of the terms of his pact with Philip in 202. However, instead of continuing against Egypt, Antiochus, fearing that Rome would defeat Philip before he could regain his ancestor's possessions in Asia Minor and Thrace, which Ptolemy and Philip had formerly seized, turned to Asia Minor.

The fact that Philip was still occupied with his war against Rome and the Romans were on friendly terms with Antiochus, gave Antiochus his chance to prepare an expedition in the winter of 198-7; for the Romans would not oppose him while they were still at war with Philip.

But, though Antiochus was aware of his advantage, he was sufficiently unsure of Rome to want reassurance that she would stand by the promise of friendship made by the Roman embassy of 200 (Embassy 3). He, therefore, sent an embassy to the Senate.

Antiochus' embassy came to Rome either in December of 198 or in January of the following year, 197. This dating

On the morning of the 12th of August, 1871, I  
left the city of New York, and after a  
journey of about 100 miles, I arrived at  
the city of Albany, N. Y., on the 13th of August.  
I found the city in a state of great  
excitement, and the people were  
all talking of the great fire of  
the 15th of July. I was informed  
that the fire had been caused by  
a small boy, who had been  
playing with a lantern, and  
that the fire had spread  
very rapidly, and had  
destroyed a great many  
buildings, and had  
caused a great deal of  
damage to the city.  
I was informed that the  
fire had been caused by  
a small boy, who had been  
playing with a lantern, and  
that the fire had spread  
very rapidly, and had  
destroyed a great many  
buildings, and had  
caused a great deal of  
damage to the city.  
I was informed that the  
fire had been caused by  
a small boy, who had been  
playing with a lantern, and  
that the fire had spread  
very rapidly, and had  
destroyed a great many  
buildings, and had  
caused a great deal of  
damage to the city.

seems correct although Appian places it in 196.<sup>1</sup> Livy

28. The Syrian Embassy places it at this time, but also  
to Rome in December, gives another Syrian embassy in  
198, or January, 197. 197-6.<sup>2</sup> It seems that both refer-

ences deal with the same embassy (198-7) because of the similar wording. The Syrian envoys at Rhodes in the summer of 197 spoke of a Syrian embassy to Rome, calling it recens, obviously referring to the legation of 198-7. This Syrian embassy was probably an answer to the senatorial embassy of 200 (Embassy 3).

Antiochus had instructed the Syrian legates to learn the prospects of Rome's success in her war with Philip. They were to assure the Senate of Syrian good-will and to cultivate Roman friendship. In this way, Antiochus hoped to continue his progress in Asia Minor, unhampered by Philip, or by Rome and her allies.

Besides, Antiochus wished to keep Roman neutrality in regard to his campaigns against Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Rome on her part wanted Syrian neutrality and friendship in regard to

<sup>1</sup>Syrian 2. This dating is impossible. See Holl-eaux, "Recherches sur l'Histoire des Negociations d'Antiochos III avec les Romains", REA XV (1913) 2-3; 4, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 170 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup>Appian Syrian 2 states that Antiochus might have sent an embassy, because he had learned of an Egyptian embassy to Rome. The Egyptian embassy, however, was in 200; therefore, it is hardly possible that Antiochus would be still anxious two years later.





Macedonia, even at the expense of Egypt; though, at the same time, making a pretense of protecting Egypt. Unfortunately for Antiochus, he did not know how eager Rome was to have him neutral in respect to Macedonia. She was more concerned about Macedonia than about Egypt.

The Senate gave the Syrian ambassadors a solemn and dignified reception, which may be accounted for by the fact that it was the first Syrian legation to come to Rome,<sup>1</sup> as is shown by the fact that the Syrian embassy at Rhodes in the summer of 197, eager to emphasize the good relations between Rome and Antiochus, mentions only this single embassy. Had it been possible to cite others, it would have done so.

In spite of the cordial reception and friendly attitude, the Romans let the envoys leave Rome without making forecasts as to their prospects of victory in the Second Macedonian War. The Senate would not have been hesitant in this matter, if the embassy had come in 196; for by that time the Roman victory was sure. But, in 197, the date of this embassy, the Romans had not yet decisively defeated Philip in the battle of Cynoscephalae, which occurred in June of 197. The legates, however, did leave Rome confident of Roman friendship at least for the time. While Antiochus

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiii. 20. 8--nam Romanorum amicitiam se non violaturum argumento et suam recentem ad eos legationem esse et senatus honorifica in secreta responsaque. Zonaras 9. 18 speaks of more than one embassy.



was making the necessary preparations for his expedition in Asia Minor, Philip tried to solve the problem of the recent revolt of Argos. Philip, at war with Rome, wishing to be freed of the responsibility of checking the revolt, but at the same time determined not to return Argos to the Achaean League, which had abandoned its alliance with him for one with the Romans in 198, turned for help to Nabis, the King of Sparta, long an Achaean enemy.

To this end, he sent his general, Philocles, to offer possession of Argos to Nabis on the condition that Philip would get Argos back, if he should win the Second Macedonian War. Otherwise, Nabis would keep it.

It seems strange that Philip should have trusted Nabis, for there was nothing to prevent the Spartan from coming to terms with Philip's enemies, Rome and her allies.<sup>1</sup> Philip, however, felt that he could appease Nabis by offering him Argos, which had been a member of the Achaean League, in preference to the Achaeans, who were now his enemies. But, while Nabis accepted the proposition, he, undoubtedly, recalled that Philip had aided the Achaeans against him.

This fact coupled with his feeling that Philip had lost the war since he had lost to Rome the support in Greece

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 39. 1-2--legatos Elatiam ad Quinctium et ad Attalum Aeginae hibernantem mittit qui nuntiarent Argos in potestate sua esse.







influenced Nabis to join the Romans. Thus, not only did Philip fail to settle his problem, but he added to his ~~own~~ difficulties. For, at the end of the winter of 198-7 Nabis met with Flamininus, Attalus of Pergamum, and Nicostratus, the Achaean praetor, at a conference at Mycenae in Argos.<sup>1</sup> At this conference, the Spartan King promised to aid the allied forces against Philip. Nabis wanted to be on the side which seemed most likely to win. He also made a truce with the Achaeans, allowing them to operate against Philip in Corinth.<sup>2</sup> In this way, he hoped to keep Argos uncontested. Thus, the whole Peloponnese was arranged against Philip.

Meanwhile, thinking his Peloponnesian problem solved by his arrangements with Nabis and having learned of the failure of his peace negotiations with Rome, Philip made preparations to continue the war.

The Romans had also been busy. Flamininus, accompanied by military forces, went to Thebes with Attalus and Nicostratus, the Achaean praetor, to seek the support of the Boeotian League.

An assembly was called under the leadership of

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 29. 6--the date is arrived at from the sentence--Dilectu rebusque aliis divinis humanisque quae per ipsos agenda erant, perfectis, consules ambo in Galliam.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 39. 3-40. 4. Livy allows four months for the truce--in quattuor menses.



Antiphilus, the Boeotian strategos, to discuss the question.<sup>1</sup>

29. Attalus at the Boeotian assembly in the spring of 197. Attalus spoke first at this meeting in behalf of all Greece. He was unable to say much, because he had a sudden attack of illness. Taken back to his own kingdom, he died and was succeeded by his son, Eumenes.<sup>2</sup>

The Achaean strategos tried to persuade the Boeotians to turn to the Roman side. His speech had great influence with them.<sup>3</sup>

30. Achaean strategos at the Boeotian assembly in the spring of 197. Dicaearchus, the ambassador from Plataea, which was a Boeotian city, proposed the passage of a law for a Boeotian alliance with Rome. No one spoke against it, and the Boeotians finally voted to join Rome.<sup>4</sup> Philip had now lost his last ally in central Greece.<sup>5</sup> All of Macedonia's allies, except Acarnania, had turned to the

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiii. 1. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiii. 21. 1--Eodem tempore Attalus rex aegies...moritus...cum quattuor et quadraginta annos regnasset.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiii. 2. 4-5. Livy states that Aristaenus is still strategos. This is an error, for Nicostratus succeeded him for 197. Livy has undoubtedly made an error in the translation of Polybius' στρατηγος which meant that Aristaenus was at the head of the embassy which attended the Boeotian meeting and not necessarily strategos.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiii. 2. 6.

<sup>5</sup>The Boeotians had been dependent on Macedonia. See Polybius xx. 5.





Romans. A united Greece had joined Rome against Philip.

After the Boeotian meeting, Flaminius left for his winter quarters at Elataea in Phocis to report his success. Philip was continuing with his preparations for a spring campaign,<sup>1</sup> while Flaminius went on to Heraclea to the Aetolian assembly, which met in the spring.<sup>2</sup> Here, the question was discussed as to what aid the Aetolians should give in the war.

While Philip and Flaminius were making plans to continue the war, Antiochus was gaining in Asia Minor. At this very time, the spring of 197, he was besieging Coracesium, a naval station on the Cilician coast. The Rhodians feared that Antiochus might even attack Egyptian towns; but, above all, they wanted assurance that he would not give any assistance to Philip. Therefore, they sent a legation to him at Coracesium.

These Rhodian envoys were to inform Antiochus that

32. The Rhodian Embassy  
to Antiochus at Coraces-  
ium in the spring of 197.

Rhodes would not hinder his  
expedition in Asia Minor, if he  
would not join Philip and would

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 3. 1--Philippus quoque primo vere, postquam legati ab Roma nihil pacati rettulerant.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 3. 8. See pp. 31-3; p. 31 n. 3; p. 32, n. 1 supra, on Aetolian assemblies. This is probably a regular assembly. See Holleaux BCH, XXIX (1905) 371, 7. 4.



leave the Egyptian possessions in Asia Minor untouched.<sup>1</sup>

Antiochus made no promises to the Rhodians other than to send a legation to them.

In early June of this year,<sup>2</sup> the Macedonians met the Roman forces in the battle Cynoscephalae,<sup>3</sup> the most decisive battle of the Second Macedonian War. Here Philip suffered a severe defeat. The outlook for Philip became even darker when at about the same time the Achaeans, allies of Rome since 198, defeated Androstenes, Philip's governor at Corinth, thus, ending the war in Achaëa.<sup>4</sup> The Rhodian Pausistratus, too, won a victory at Alabanda, a Carian city, after having attacked Philip's garrisons in Caria and Peraea.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 19. 8-20. 5; 20. 6-11--Antiochus, cum priore aestate omnibus quae in Coele-Syria sunt, civitatibus ex Ptolemaei ditione in suam potestatem redactis in hiberna Antiocheam concessisset....this was before the battle of Cynoscephalae.

<sup>2</sup>Kromayer, op. cit., II, 111; De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 86, n.; 386; Holleaux, CAH, VIII (1930)174; "L'Annee de la Bataille de Cynoscephalai", REA, XVII (1915) 165-170, all agree on dating the battle in June.

In Polybius xviii. 20. 3 the corn was already ripe in Thessaly, and Flamininus was hurrying after the battle (probably July); also, Livy xxxiii. 25. 1.

Phaeneas was still the Aetolian strategos; a change would be made in the autumn.

<sup>3</sup>For a description of the battle, see Polybius xviii. 19, ff.; Livy (P) xxxiii. 7. 4-10. 10; Plutarch Flam. 7-8; Justinus 30. 4; Zonaras 9. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 14-5.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 18.





Lucius Flamininus, the proconsul's brother and commander of the fleet, finally stormed Leucas, the Acarnanian capital.<sup>1</sup> The Acarnanians had remained loyal to Philip, for they feared and hated the Aetolians, who had allied themselves in 199 to the Romans. They held a meeting at Leucas to discuss their future actions in the

war. Two Acarnanians, 33. Two Acarnanian envoys at Leucas in behalf of Philip in the summer, 197. Androcles and Echedemus, came in behalf of Philip.<sup>2</sup> Their instructions were to condemn Archelaus and Bianor, Acarnanian leaders, who were advocating an alliance with Rome. They also recommended that Zeuxis, the strategos, should be deposed.

However, the Acarnanians, swayed by the Roman successes and the storming of their capital, passed a decree for an alliance with Rome.<sup>3</sup> Thus, Philip lost his last and most faithful Greek ally.

Philip, having suffered great losses, wanted peace on friendly terms with Rome. He also hoped in this way to preserve some of his gains. From Tempe, where he had retreated after his defeat at Cynoscephalae, he sent a herald

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxii. 40. 7. xxxiii. 16. 1--priusquam dimicaretur ad Cynoscephalas, ... xxxiii. 17. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiii. 17. 15--et post dies paucos audito proelio quo ad Cynoscephalas pugnatum erat, omnes Acarnaniae populi in dicionem legati venerunt.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiii. 16. 3; 16. 11.



to Flaminius, who was at Larisa, to ask for permission to send ambassadors to him.<sup>1</sup> The proconsul agreed to receive them; and in the middle of June, 197, the meeting took place.

The Macedonian ambassadors, Demosthenes, Cycliadas, and Limnaeus, asked Flaminius for  
 34. Macedonian envoys to Flaminius in the middle of June, 197. an armistice, which he granted for fifteen days.<sup>2</sup> Flaminius arranged also to hold a conference at Gonnus, which is at the entrance to Tempe, to discuss the question of peace between Philip and Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Amynder, the King of Athamania, attended this  
 35. Amynder at the conference at Gonnus in June, 197. meeting and spoke briefly, asking for protection. He always had in his mind the fear of Philip because of the proximity of Macedonia to his own kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 11. 3-4. Polybius does not mention the herald, whereas Livy does not speak of the three ambassadors of Polybius xviii. 34. 4-6.

Niese, op. cit., II, 644, n. 3 thinks that the herald in Livy is the same as the embassy in Polybius.

Livy indicates that the herald only made way for the embassy (11. 3). xxxiii. 12. 1 is the same as Polybius xviii. 34. 5. The herald may be an addition in order to use the embassy of Polybius. See Holleaux, "Notes sur Tite-Live--Le Caduceator Envoyé par Philippe V à T. Quinctius Flaminius en 197", RP, LVII (1931) 195-7.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 34. 4-6.

<sup>3</sup>Pol. xviii. 36. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup>Pol. xviii. 36. 3-4.





The Aetolians dispatched two envoys to Gonnus. One of them, Alexander, warned that there could be no peace for the Romans or liberty for the Greeks by coming to terms with Philip. He suggested the deposition of Philip.<sup>1</sup>

36. Aetolian embassy at Gonnus in June, 197.

An explanation of Alexander's opposition to the peace terms may have been that his people wanted the Romans to suffer some misfortune from the war, so that they would not be liberators of the Greeks. The Aetolians remembered only too well the inaction of the Romans in the First Macedonian War and the Senate's rebuff to their ambassadors in 202. Flamininus was, however, eager to grant Philip peace on the basis of Philip's agreement to the demands of Rome and her allies. The allies would consult with the Senate in regard their demands; but the Aetolians, who were opposed to the peace terms, could do as they saw fit.<sup>2</sup>

The second Aetolian envoy, Phaeneas, prophesied that, as soon as peace was made, Philip would begin to re-establish his power.

Flamininus became furious at the Aetolians, for he was confident that he could make terms, under which Philip could not increase his territory or power at the expense of the Greeks. Besides, Flamininus was anxious for peace;

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<sup>1</sup>Pol. xviii. 36. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 37. 10.



because he feared Antiochus of Syria who was capturing town after town in his war in Asia Minor. He also believed that the Senate would not want to destroy Macedonia completely but would wish to preserve it as a buffer state between Greece and the Balkans.

On the third day of the conference, the Aetolian Phaeneas asked Philip if he would surrender to the Aetolians Larisa Cremaste, Pharsalos, Phthiotic Thebes, and Echinus. Although Philip was willing to surrender these, Flamininus agreed to grant only Phthiotic Thebes. Phaeneas also stated that the Aetolians should regain, according to the alliance of 212, the towns which had been members of their League. Flamininus at once reminded him that the Aetolians had broken this alliance, when they made the separate peace with Philip in 206.<sup>1</sup>

At the conference, Flamininus finally granted Philip's request for an armistice, allowing four months, during which Philip could send an embassy to the Senate. Philip was to pay an indemnity of two hundred talents immediately and also to send hostages, among them, his son, Demetrius; provided that the Senate accepted the terms agreed

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 27. 4; 34. 1; Livy (P) xxxiii. 9. 3-10 on the attitude of Flamininus toward the Aetolians.





upon between Flamininus and Philip.<sup>1</sup>

While the Romans and Macedonians were discussing peace, Syrian legates came to Rhodes in accordance with

Antiochus' promise in the spring at  
37. Syrian envoys at Rhodes in the summer of 197. Coracesium.<sup>2</sup> Their mission was to tell

the Rhodians that they had no reason to fear the arrival of Antiochus in Asia Minor, for the king would not violate his friendship with Rome or her allies. They mentioned the reception which the Senate had given the Syrian envoys in the winter of 198-7 as showing the goodwill between Rome and Syria.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that Antiochus did not want to become hostile to Rhodes, because he knew that Rhodes would have the support of Rome and Pergamum.

While the Syrian ambassadors were at Rhodes, news arrived there of the Roman victory in the battle of Cynoscephalae. The Rhodians, then, lost all fear and decided, if necessary, to protect the Egyptian towns against

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 39. 5-- διὸ συνεχωρήθη τῷ βασιλεῖ, καθάπερ ἦν λυβόντα τετραμήνους ἄνοχας παραχρήμα μὲν τοῦτο τῷ τίτῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν εἰς ἑκαστήν καὶ πέντε εἴρους τῶν φίλων περὶ τὰ τῶν ὀνείων ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ διόνας τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν.  
Livy (P) xxxiii. 13. 13-15; Appian Mac. 9. 2.  
Livy's passage is quattuor mensum indutiae essent.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 64 supra.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxii. 8. 14; xxxiii. 20. 6-8.



Antiochus.<sup>1</sup> Up to this time, fearing that Antiochus might aid Philip, they had tried to appease him. But, now that Rome was victorious, she would be free to aid them against Antiochus, if the occasion should arise.

In the middle of the summer, after a lapse of several weeks, the news of the victory at Cynoscephalae reached Rome. Flamininus' letter announcing the news was read by the urban praetor, M. Sergius.<sup>2</sup>

Livy says that the report came to Rome at the end of the year (exitu ferme anni) just before the embassies from the East arrived in Rome.<sup>3</sup> He is, however, confused since the consuls were not in Rome when Flamininus' letter came, as they would have been at the end of the year (November-December).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Polybius says that

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiii. 20. 9-11--tum forte legati redierant ab Roma comiter auditi dimissique ut tempus postulabat, incerto adhuc adversus Philippum eventu belli cum haec legati regis in contione Rhodiorum agerent, nuntius venit debellatum ad Cynoscephalas esse.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiii. 24. 3-4--exitu ferme anni litterae a T. Quinctio venerunt se signis conlatis cum rege Philippo in Thessalia pugnasse hostium exercitum fusum fugatumque, hae litterae prius in senatu a M. Sergio praetore, deinde, ex auctoritate patrum in contione sunt recitatae et ob res prospere gestas in dies quinque supplicationes decretae. See Polybius xviii. 42. 1 also for the dating of the legations--ἔτι ἐπὶ Μαρκελλοῦ Κλαυδίου ὑπάρχοντος Πρωτελλήθους τῶν ἑσπερίων.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiii. 24. 1--creati consules L. Furius Purpurio et M. Claudius Marcellus....

<sup>4</sup>Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

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Flamininus was hastening, for the corn was ripe in Thessaly.<sup>1</sup>  
This could not have been in the winter, but some time during the  
summer.

Philip still tried to preserve some of his gains.  
He resisted successfully a Dardanian invasion at Stobi; and  
he made a campaign in the Axios Valley, after which he re-  
turned to Thessalonica, at the end of the summer of 197.<sup>2</sup>

But, the Second Macedonian War was over; terms had  
to be drawn up.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, embassies from Flamininus,  
Philip, and the Greek states came to Rome at the end of 197

or at the beginning of the  
38. Embassies to Rome from  
Flamininus, Philip, and the  
Greek states in December, 197.  
consular year, 196, to  
discuss the terms for

peace. They arrived after the consuls for 196 had entered  
office. The Ides of March, the date on which the consuls  
assumed their duties, fell in December for this year, 197.<sup>4</sup>

C. Claudius Marcellus, one of the new consuls, was

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 20. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 19. 1-5.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 38-39; Livy (P) xxxiii. 13. 13-15;  
Appian Mac. 9. 2; Plutarch Flam. 9. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 42. 1; Livy xxxiii. 24. 4-6.  
xxxiii. 24. 6--discussion of terms--ibi haud multa  
verba facta. Polybius xviii. 42. 2-- λόγων δὲ πλεόντων γενομένων  
ἐν τῇ συγκαλίτῳ.



opposed to making terms with Philip.<sup>1</sup> The King's envoys said that the Philip would agree to the arrangements which the Senate would decide on. However, after much discussion, the Senate and people ratified the peace. Since there is no record of the terms, it may be inferred that they were the terms decided on at the conference at Mycenae.<sup>2</sup>

The Senate, then, appointed ten senators, according to ancient custom, to act as commissioners in Greece.<sup>3</sup> They were to cooperate with Flamininus in managing Greek affairs and in assuring the liberties of the Greeks. P. Sulpicius Galba and P. Villius Tappulus were also in Greece,<sup>4</sup> having been appointed legati early in 197 to watch over the war, since they had been consuls in charge of Macedonia in 200 and 199, respectively, and had a good knowledge of affairs there.

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 42--*ὅτι ἐπὶ Μαρκόλλου Κλεονδίου ὑπάτου παρουληφόρος τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχὴν ἔχον οἷς τὴν ἐρώμην . . . . . πρέσβεις*. Livy xxxiii. 24. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 42. 4; Livy xxxiii. 25. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 42. 5--Livy xxxiii. 24. 7--decem legati more maiorum, quorum ex consilio T. Quinctius imperator leges pacis Philippo daret, decreti, adiectumque, ut in eo numero legatorum P. Sulpicius et P. Villius essent qui consules provinciam Macedoniam obtinuissent. Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 591. 11; 69-70--*τέτοι καὶ τοὺς δέκα τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν (τῆς) Ἑλλάδος περὶ μέγιστοι*. 674, 11. 52-3--*ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος περὶ μέγιστοι*. *τοῖς xviii. 42.5* -- *ὅν ἐπελάττεισθε, εὐθέως ἢ σύγκλητος ἀνδρῶν δέκα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔξελεται τοὺς χελευόντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς τέτοι καὶ ἀβελότοις τοῖς ἀλλοῖς*.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiii. 28. 12.





The Senate immediately referred a complicated question to this commission. The head of the Achaean legation, Damoxenus, (Embassy<sup>38</sup>), asked for an alliance. There was opposition to this, since the Eleans, Messenians, and Aetolians made claims against the Achaeans. Since it could not reach a decision, the Senate left the matter to the commission.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 42. 6-8-- ἐποίησαντο δὲ λόγους ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας οὗ παρὰ τῷ Ἀχαιοῦ πρέσβει, οὗ περὶ Δαμόχενου τὸν Αἰγυῖα.



196 B. C.

While Rome was at war with Philip, the Senate was careful in dealing with Antiochus of Syria. In June of 197, however, Rome's attitude began to change. She had won her victory against Macedon in the battle of Cynoscephalae. Antiochus' conquests in Asia Minor were alarming to Rome and consequently, Flaminius, the Roman proconsul, in order to have a freehand in dealing with Syria, wanted to be certain that the Romans had no opposition or ill-will among the Greek states. A favorable opportunity soon presented itself.

At the same time, certain Boeotian leaders issued a private decree for an alliance with Rome. In the winter of 196, they followed this up by sending an embassy to Flaminius at his winter quarters in Elatea. This embassy asked the Roman proconsul to provide for Boeotian safety. Flaminius foresaw the arrival of Antiochus and wanted to preserve good relations with the Boeotians, although they had previously served under Philip of Macedon.

39. The Boeotian Embassy to Flaminius in the winter of 196.





He, therefore, agreed to help them.<sup>1</sup>

In Boeotia, there were still two factions, one pro-Roman and the other pro-Macedonian. The pro-Macedonian party was in power in 196, since Brachylles, who had Macedonian leanings, was elected Boeotarch. In the same winter (196), the Boeotians also sent envoys to Philip.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the legation to Philip was to thank him for returning the Boeotian soldiers who had served under him.

40. The Boeotian embassy to Philip in the winter of 196.

Since the Boeotians sent legates both to Philip and Flamininus, it would follow that they were trying to keep friendly relations with both Rome and Macedon.<sup>3</sup>

The political victory of the pro-Macedonian party under the leadership of Brachylles made the pro-Roman group fearful for the security of Greece. Therefore, this group decided to plot the murder of Brachylles with the aid of Flamininus and the Aetolians. To this end, Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, leaders of the pro-Romans, sent an embassy to

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 1-3-- ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐλευσίαν καὶ τὴν μάχην τὸν παρακληθέντος ἐν ἑλευσίᾳ βοιωτῶν προδόντες ἀνακομίσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν στρατευόμενους παρὰ τῷ φιλίππῳ, δευροστέοντο περὶ τῆς ἰσφαλείας αὐτῶν πρὸς τόν.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 4; Livy xxxiii. 27. 5-7.

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Flamininus, who, we have seen, was at Elatea.<sup>1</sup> Flamininus, who did not want to be responsible for a disturbance in any

41. The Pro-Roman legation from Boeotia to Flamininus in the winter of 196.

Greek state, referred the matter to the Aetolian strategos, Alexamenus.<sup>2</sup>

Alexamenus arranged to have three Aetolians and three Romans kill Brachylles.<sup>3</sup> As a result of the ensuing murder, there was widespread massacre of Romans and pro-Romans in Boeotia. Taking up the issue, Flamininus made severe demands. When these were not satisfied, he invaded Boeotia.<sup>4</sup>

The pro-Roman Boeotians, on the other hand, who had only recently asked for Roman protection,<sup>5</sup> once again appealed to Flamininus, only to be rebuffed.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, unsuccessful in their mission to Flamininus, they apparently sought the aid of the Athenians and Achaeans. At least, this is a plausible

43. The Boeotian appeal to Athens, to Achaia in the winter of 196.

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 7-12.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 43. 12.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 75, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 78, n. 1, *infra*.

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inference, since legations from Achaea and Athens came to the proconsul in behalf of the Boeotians.<sup>1</sup>

The Achaean and Athenian embassies both threatened that, unless Flaminius made peace with the Boeotians, they would be ready for war with Rome.

Flaminius did not want a conflict with either the Achaeans or the Athenians, since he had his eyes on Antiochus and wanted the good-will and support of all Greece. Therefore, he reduced his severe demands on the Boeotians, and settled the matter peacefully.<sup>2</sup>

The ten commissioners, whom the Senate had dispatched to the East in 197 to cooperate with Flaminius in regard to the peace with Philip, arrived in Elatea at the end of the winter or at the beginning of the spring of 196.<sup>3</sup> It was their duty to see that the terms of the treaty were properly carried out.

They brought with them a senatorial decree (senatus consultum), the most important stipulation of which was that the Greeks were to have the freedom which Rome had demanded

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxxiii. 29. 6-11.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius xviii. 43. 1-4; Livy xxxiii. 27. 10 - 29. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius xviii. 44. 1--κατὰ τὸν καρὸν τοῦτο.  
Livy (P) xxxiii. 30. 1--Paucos post dies decem legati at Roma venerunt.... This is at the time of Brachylles' death.

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for them in 200 in her ultimatum to Philip's general Nicanor.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Rome won not only a military but also a diplomatic victory. Now, the Greek states would be free and subject to their own laws.<sup>2</sup>

Philip had agreed to remove the garrisons from the cities of Asia and to set them free. He was also to surrender cities in Europe, in which he had garrisons, to the Romans. In this way, the Romans would still have the strongholds of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. Philip was to return prisoners and deserters; to give up his fleet to Rome, except for five light ships and one warship; and to pay 5000 talents at once and 5000 more over a period of ten years. The Roman Senate would have the final settlement and could impose additional terms, if it saw fit.

The Senatus consultum did not, however, cover all the terms of the treaty. Nothing was said about Illyria, about reparations to Pergamum, or about Egypt's possessions.

The Aetolians alone opposed the terms of the treaty, for they had not regained the cities which they had lost to Macedonia, the purpose for which they had joined the Romans in the war against Philip. They were dissatisfied not only with the terms but also with Flamininus' refusal to allow

<sup>1</sup>See p.20 supra.

<sup>2</sup>For the terms of the senatus consultum, see Polybius xviii. 44. 2; Livy (P) xxxiii. 30. 1-7; Larsen, "The Treaty of Peace at the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War", CP, XXXI (1936) 342 f.







Philip to return the former members of the Aetolian League, as he was willing to do. They spread the argument that, since they had shared in the victory with Rome, they should regain their possessions. They also spread the propaganda to the effect that the Romans would act in Greece, as Philip had, and would give the Greeks another tyrant.<sup>1</sup>

While Flaminius and the ten commissioners were making the necessary arrangements for peace with Philip, Antiochus was making further conquests in Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> He had won the submission of Egyptian cities, and now tried to gain control of Greek towns on the Aegean coast. In this way, he alarmed both Flaminius and the Senate. Philip, too, was anxious about Antiochus' advances. If he were to repair his kingdom, it would be best for him to cooperate with Rome against Antiochus, whom he hated.

Besides Egyptian and Greek towns, there were also Pergamene and Macedonian subjects, and autonomous cities in Asia Minor. Most of the autonomous cities submitted to Antiochus, but three, proud of their freedom, refused when Antiochus attacked them. These were Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandreia Troas. Eumenes, Attalus' successor as King of Pergamum, advised these cities to appeal to Rome for inclusion in the peace treaty with Philip. Therefore, they

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 44. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxiii. 38. 4.

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decided to send embassies to Rome,<sup>1</sup> which became added reminders to the Senate of the danger from Antiochus.

Before dispatching its embassy to Rome, however,

46. The Lampsacene embassy to Massilia in the spring of 196. Lampsacus sent one to Massilia, which was not only friendly to it, but was also an ally of Rome. In

answer to the Lampsacene appeal, Massilia promised to give the city a recommendation to Rome.

Thus, Massilia sent an embassy to the Roman Senate,

47. The Massiliote embassy to Rome in the spring of 196. which received a hearty welcome. The Senate listened to its request for Roman protection against Antiochus for the cities of Asia Minor, such as Lampsacus.<sup>2</sup>

In the Lampsacene embassy to Rome, there were three

48. The Embassy from Lampsacus to Rome in the spring of 196. envoys, two of whom are mentioned by name, Hegsias and Apollodorus.<sup>3</sup>

These appealed to Rome for protection, as the Massiliotes had in their behalf. Since there is no mention of legates from Smyrna and Alexandreia, it is

<sup>1</sup>Appian Syr. 1. 2 states that the embassies of Smyrna and Lampsacus appealed to Flamininus and not to the Senate at Rome. See Holleaux, "Lampsaque et les Galates", REA, XVIII (1916), 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup>The Massiliote is referred to in the Lampsacene decree, which honored Hegesias, one of the ambassadors to Rome in 196. The decree is the first evidence of Rome's intervention in Asia Minor. See Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 591.-- Τὸν [τὸν ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ὁπάρχοντα τῶν].....

<sup>3</sup>See note 1, supra.







possible that the Lampsacenes spoke in behalf of them also.

The Senate, in recognition of its instructions to the ten commissioners, who were at this time in Greece, referred the embassies to them.<sup>1</sup> However, Rome's attitude toward Antiochus which changed after the battle of Cynoscephalae changed even more after the appeal of the autonomous cities of Asia Minor. Rome, the defender of the Greek states against Philip, was now called to defend them against Antiochus.

In the late spring of 196, Flaminius at a conference with the commissioners at Corinth decided to give Corinth to the Achaeans, while the Romans would occupy Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acrocorinth.<sup>2</sup> Because Aetolian propaganda against the Romans continued, the commission and Flaminius decided to free these cities.<sup>3</sup> At the Isthmian games, which took place in June or July, a proclamation from Flaminius was read,<sup>4</sup> announcing that the peoples of Greece would be freed of garrisons, would be governed by their own laws, and

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 44. 3-- πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρεως; Livy xxxiii. 30. 2--ante Isthmiorum tempus....

<sup>2</sup>The decision in regard to these three strongholds was left to the ten commissioners because of the fear of Antiochus' advances. See Polybius xviii. 45. 12 and Livy xxxiii. 31. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 45. 7-12.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 46--καὶ τῆς Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρεως ἐπελθοῦσης; Livy (P) xxxiii. 32. 1--Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat.



would not be obliged to pay tribute.<sup>1</sup> Great joy arose among the Greeks upon whom Rome had bestowed a great gift--freedom from Macedonian rule.

The Syrian ambassadors attended the conference at Corinth which continued even after 49. The Syrian envoys at Corinth in the summer of 196. the Isthmian games supposedly to congratulate Flamininus on his success against Philip.<sup>2</sup> But, actually, the ambassadors, Hegesianax and Lysias,<sup>3</sup> were there to attempt to remove suspicion, to tell the Romans that Antiochus had no plans against them. The commissioners, however, made the following demands: that Antiochus leave the Asiatic cities which had formerly belonged to Philip and Ptolemy, that he keep his hands off the autonomous cities of Asia Minor,<sup>4</sup> and that he should not cross to Europe with an army. They added that

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 46. 5; Livy (P) xxxiii. 32. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 47. 1-4; Livy (P) xxxiii. 34. 1-4--Secundum Isthmia Quinctius et decem legati legationes regum gentiumque audivere.

<sup>3</sup>Only Polybius mentions these names; they may have been the only envoys or the leaders of the group. They are the same men who went to Rome in 198-7, but were sent directly by the king and did not stop at Corinth, as Nissen, op. cit., p. 149, claims. See Holleaux, REA, XV (1913) 5 f. If the embassy stopped at Corinth on the way from Rome, there would have been a Syrian legation to Rome in 197-6. If there had been one, how could the Senate hesitate as to the outcome of the war with Philip, for it would be after the battle of Cynoscephalae in June, 197? See Livy (P) xxxiii. 20. 9.

<sup>4</sup>This would mean Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria.



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ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE  
AND LONDON MEDICAL SOCIETY

THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS PRESENTED AT THE  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF MEDICAL  
OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, HELD AT  
THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, LONDON,  
ON THE 15TH OF MAY, 1911.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF  
MEDICAL OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY,  
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PREVENTION OF  
DIPHTHERIA.

THE COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF THE FOLLOWING  
MEMBERS, HAS THE HONOUR TO REPORT TO THE  
SOCIETY OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY,  
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PREVENTION OF  
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they would send a legation to Antiochus to discuss the situation further.<sup>1</sup>

After the dismissal of the Syrian ambassadors, the commission called the representatives of the various city-states to give them its decisions in regard to Rome's course against Antiochus.<sup>2</sup> The commissioners referred to the Senate only the question concerning the surrender of Phthiotic Thebes and Pharsalos to the Aetolians.

At the close of the conference at Corinth at the autumn equinox, the commissioners  
50. The Missions of the ten commissioners separated and went on their individual missions.<sup>3</sup>  
in the autumn of 196.

P. Lentulus went to liberate Bargylia; L. Stertinius, Hephaestia and cities of Thrace, while P. Villius and L. Terentius went to free Thasos.

L. Cornelius Lentulus, also a commissioner, had been instructed by the Senate to mediate between Antiochus and Ptolemy concerning the Egyptian cities in Asia Minor. He also had instructions to ask Antiochus to withdraw from the autonomous cities in Asia Minor, and from those which had

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii. 47. 1-3; Livy (P) xxxiii. 34. 1-4  
--Secundum Isthmia Quinctius et decem legati legationes regum gentiumque audivere.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 47. 4 ff.; Livy (P) xxxiii. 34. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 48. 3-5; 49. 2 - 50. 1-2; Livy (P) xxxiii. 41. 9--iam enim et hiems instabat, ipse in hiberna Antiochiam concessit.



belonged to Ptolemy and Philip.<sup>1</sup> These demands were the same as those which the commissioners had made of the Syrian ambassadors at Corinth in the summer.<sup>2</sup> The legation under the leadership of Lentulus was the one which the commission at Corinth had promised to send to Antiochus.<sup>3</sup>

Gnaeus Cornelius, at the head of a legation to Philip, met the King at Tempe to advise him to send envoys to Rome in order to make arrangements for a Roman-Macedonian alliance. In this way, Philip would assure the Romans that he had no intention of joining Antiochus. Philip actually hated the Syrian, because he had not benefited from the Syro-Macedonian pact of 202, and because Antiochus by advancing in Asia Minor had endangered his interests. He also hoped to reorganize his kingdom by cooperating with Rome. He agreed, therefore, to send an embassy to Rome.<sup>4</sup>

From Tempe, Gnaeus Cornelius continued to Termum to

<sup>1</sup>Livy speaks only of L. Cornelius Lentulus--see xxxiii. 39. 1--sub hoc tempus et L. Cornelius missus ab senatu....ad dirimenda inter Antiochum Ptolomaeumque reges certamina. Also, xxxiii. 41. 2--L. Cornelius cui legatio ad duos reges....mandata erat.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 49. 2-- οὗ περὶ Ἀντίοχου καὶ Πτολεμαίου.  
<sup>2</sup>Appian Syr. 2-3-- Πναῖος.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 83 supra.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 84 supra.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 48. 4; Livy (P) xxxiii. 33. 5; Appian Syr. 3-- Πναῖος ὁ γούμνος.





attend an Aetolian assembly, which met in the autumn.<sup>1</sup> He urged the Aetolians to reestablish friendly relations with Rome, thus, preventing a complete break with the Aetolians, whom the Romans feared might join Antiochus.<sup>2</sup> The Aetolians, as we have seen, were ill-disposed to the Romans because of the peace terms with Philip, by which they had not regained their old possessions.

Some Aetolians now condemned the Romans for having broken the original treaty, that is, the treaty of 212, by which the Roman-Aetolian alliance was formed.<sup>3</sup> Others declared that the Romans had been victorious over Philip only because of the Aetolians. Because of this ill-feeling toward the Romans, Cornelius advised the Aetolians to send an embassy to the Senate to discuss their complaints.<sup>4</sup>

In this same autumn (196) a conference was held at Lysimachia. Holleaux dates it in October.<sup>5</sup> This date seems logical, since a revolt of Aetolians under the leadership of Scopas in Egypt arose in October. Besides, Antiochus went to his winter quarters shortly after the conference.

<sup>1</sup>On the Aetolian assemblies which met in the autumn, see p. 31, n. 3 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 48. 5-6--ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν συνόδῳ....

<sup>3</sup>See p. 37, n. 1, supra, p. 87, n. 1, infra.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xviii. 48. 9.

<sup>5</sup>REA XV(1913) 8-9.



Leuze feels that the date of the conference can not be determined and argues against Holleaux's date.<sup>1</sup> He supports his argument by placing the Aetolian revolt in 197. He also states that Antiochus did not hurry to his winter quarters when he learned that the report of Ptolemy's death was false.

Holleaux, however, argues further that the conference at Corinth lasted until the autumn equinox and that the individual missions of the commissioners did not last long, thus, making the date, October, 196, the plausible one.

At the conference, ambassadors of Antiochus met with several Roman commissioners, L. Cornelius Lentulus, who had gone to mediate between Antiochus and Ptolemy; P. Lentulus, who had freed Bargylia; P. Villius and L. Terentius, who had freed Thasos (Embassy 50). The Romans made the same demands which they made at the conference at Corinth in the summer of this year.<sup>2</sup>

Hegesianax and Lysias, the Syrian envoys who had

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., pp. 203-4--the conference at Corinth ended at the autumn equinox, probably September. After this, Cornelius went to the Aetolian assembly; and a few weeks must have elapsed while the commission executed its instructions.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 84 *supra*.

For the purpose of this study, the following data were collected:

The first set of data was collected from the following sources:  
(1) Direct observation of the subjects in the laboratory.  
(2) Interviews with the subjects after the experiment.  
(3) Analysis of the subjects' performance records.  
(4) Analysis of the subjects' physiological records.

The second set of data was collected from the following sources:  
(1) Direct observation of the subjects in the laboratory.  
(2) Interviews with the subjects after the experiment.  
(3) Analysis of the subjects' performance records.  
(4) Analysis of the subjects' physiological records.  
(5) Analysis of the subjects' psychological records.

The third set of data was collected from the following sources:  
(1) Direct observation of the subjects in the laboratory.  
(2) Interviews with the subjects after the experiment.  
(3) Analysis of the subjects' performance records.  
(4) Analysis of the subjects' physiological records.  
(5) Analysis of the subjects' psychological records.  
(6) Analysis of the subjects' social records.

The fourth set of data was collected from the following sources:  
(1) Direct observation of the subjects in the laboratory.  
(2) Interviews with the subjects after the experiment.  
(3) Analysis of the subjects' performance records.  
(4) Analysis of the subjects' physiological records.  
(5) Analysis of the subjects' psychological records.  
(6) Analysis of the subjects' social records.  
(7) Analysis of the subjects' cultural records.

These data were then analyzed and the results are presented in the following chapters.



been at Corinth, now at Lysimachia argued that the Romans had no justifiable reasons for disputing Syrian possession of the Asiatic cities. Antiochus did not meddle in Roman affairs; therefore, the Romans should not concern themselves with Asiatic affairs. The King had crossed to Europe only to recover the Chersonese and the Thracian cities, which his ancestors had conquered and which Philip and Ptolemy had seized. As for his relations with Ptolemy, Antiochus planned to make a family alliance by marrying his daughter to Ptolemy V Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> Egypt was weak and needed peace which she could obtain by such an alliance. If this could be arranged, there would no longer be an Egyptian question for Rome against Antiochus.

After hearing the Syrian envoys, the Roman commissioners then called the ambassadors from Lampsacus, namely, Parmenio and Pythodorus, 52. The Lampsacene embassy and 53. The Smyrnan embassy at Lysimachia in the autumn of 196. and one from Smyrna, Coeranus, who had come to the conference to discuss the question of their autonomy. But, the Syrian legates interrupted these envoys by demanding that the question of their autonomy should be referred to Rhodes and not to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The Syrians made this demand, perhaps, because they

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xviii.51; Livy xxxiii. 40. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xviii. 52. 1-2.



felt that Rhodes had more right to interfere in Asiatic affairs than Rome. Or, perhaps, by referring the matter to Rhodes, they hoped to win the good-will of that island. For, if Rhodes were unfriendly to Antiochus, it might be an obstacle to his advances in Asia Minor.

Although the Romans feared war with Antiochus, they were unwilling to accept Rhodian arbitration in the conflict between Antiochus and the Asiatic cities which were seeking Roman aid.

The conference was, however, disrupted by the rumor of Ptolemy's death. Antiochus returned to his kingdom, perhaps with the hope of taking over the rule of Egypt, only to learn that the report was false.<sup>1</sup>

The Aetolians had, as we have seen, deliberately spread the rumor of Ptolemy's death in order to cause

54. The Aetolian  
envoy to Ptolemy in  
the autumn of 196.

confusion in Egypt, hoping in this way to prevent the marriage alliance and the consequent peace between

Ptolemy and Antiochus. When the Aetolian League discovered that the rumor was false, it sent Dorimachus to Ptolemy to reestablish peace and good relations with him.

Soon after the conference at Lysimachia, Antiochus sent envoys to Flamininus to arrange for an alliance with Rome which would probably allow Antiochus to remain in

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 77 supra.





Europe. Such an alliance would show that both the conference at Corinth and the conference at 55. The Syrian ambassadors to Flamininus in the autumn of 196. Lysimachia had failed. Flamininus, therefore, delayed his answer until the following spring (195), when we find that these envoys were present at the second conference of Corinth.

In the same year, a question arose in regard to Argos which Nabis of Sparta had acquired in 197 by an arrangement with Philip.<sup>1</sup> Since Rome was at war with Philip, Flamininus found it necessary to recognize Nabis' right over Argos. Now, he feared that a strong Nabis might gain the support of the Aetolians who were hostile to Rome.<sup>2</sup> Flamininus, therefore, referred the matter to the Senate through the commissioners who returned to Rome toward the end of 196, shortly after the conference at Lysimachia.

From Livy, it is evident that the commission returned to Rome in 196.<sup>3</sup> Niese infers, however, from Livy that it remained in Greece throughout 195 and returned to Rome in 194.<sup>4</sup> He believes this, since Villius, one of the legati, was still in Greece in 195.<sup>5</sup> However, after they

<sup>1</sup> See p. 61, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxxiii. 43. 6; 44. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Livy xxxiii. 44. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. II, 661, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Livy (P) xxxiv. 33. 12--adiciebat et cum Antiocho infidam pacem Villium legatum inde redeuntem nuntiare....



had completed the arrangements for peace with Philip, all the commissioners, except two, returned to Rome.<sup>1</sup> These two were the ex-consuls, P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, who continued to remain in Greece as legati, according to the instructions of the Senate in 198-7, since they were well acquainted with eastern affairs.

When the commissioners arrived at Rome and presented the question of Argos, the Senate decided to appoint Flamininus proconsul for another year and to refer the Argive matter to him.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Holleaux, REA, XV (1913) 11, n. 2 and De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 105, n. 209, are of this opinion.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiii. 45. 3; (P) xxxiv. 32. 5; Justinus xxxi. 1.7. regards the extension of the proconsulship as a result of Rome's fear of Nabis--eodem tempore et Nabis.... occupaverat. xxxi. 1. 6--igitur senatus, ne uno tempore duplici bello Romanae vires detinerentur (with Antiochus or Nabis) scripsit Flaminino, si ei videatur, sicut Macedoniam a Philippo, ita et Graeciam a Nabide liberet.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1900. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames. The names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1900 are: [illegible names]

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195 B. C.

While engaged in her war with Philip, Rome had made every effort to maintain friendly relations with Antiochus. However, soon after her victory at Cynoscephalae in 197, her attitude toward Antiochus began to change; for he was advancing too rapidly in Asia Minor. Besides, Rome was now free to deal with him.

In the summer of 196 at Corinth, the Roman commissioners, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> demanded that Antiochus keep away from the autonomous cities in Asia Minor, like Smyrna and Lampsacus; that he leave the towns which were formerly Ptolemy's and Philip's; and that he stay away from Europe.

Furthermore, the Roman legati, who had returned at the end of 196 with their report on the outcome of their dealings with Philip,<sup>2</sup> also reported that there was danger from Antiochus.<sup>3</sup> For, the King had disregarded the Roman demands and continued with his plans to reconquer his ancestors' possessions. He crossed to the Chersonese and to Thrace and thus challenged Rome's right to intervene for the cities of

<sup>1</sup>See p. 84, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiii. 44. 5-6---quibus legibus pax data.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiii. 44. 6-7.



Asia Minor.

Antiochus' interest was in the Greek world; he wanted only what had belonged to his ancestors, but Rome did not trust him. She may have feared that the Aetolians would join him.

All Greeks, except the Aetolians, were enjoying the peace and liberty which resulted from the Second Macedonian War. The Aetolians were dissatisfied with the peace terms and with Flamininus' attitude toward them. The proconsul had refused to allow Philip to return to their League certain cities, which the Macedonian had captured in 202. In 196, the Aetolians, whom the Roman commission had sent to the Senate, were referred to Flamininus, only to be rebuffed by him.<sup>1</sup>

Rome no longer had the problem of protecting Egypt against Antiochus, since the king had made a marriage alliance with Ptolemy.<sup>2</sup> At that time, however, a new problem presented itself concerning the occupation of Argos by Nabis of Sparta. This problem was introduced to the Senate by the commissioners who had returned from Greece in 196.<sup>3</sup> The Senate referred the decision of this matter to Flamininus, who called a conference at Corinth in the spring of 195 (March-April).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See p. 86 supra.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 88 supra.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiii. 44. 8-9.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiv. 22. 4-6--T. Quinctio in Graecia ita hibernis actis.... See also xxxiv. 23. 8; 24. 7.





The Syrian legates attended this conference, as

Antiochus had promised at  
 56. The Syrian envoys at  
 the Conference of Corinth Lysimachia in 196,<sup>1</sup> and asked  
 in the spring of 195. Flamininus for an alliance with  
 Rome. The proconsul answered that he could give no opinion,  
 since the commissioners had returned to Rome at the end of  
 196;<sup>2</sup> but he advised the envoys to go to the Senate.<sup>3</sup> Leuze  
 believes that the embassy went directly on to Rome, while  
 Holleaux points out that it returned to Antiochus, who sent  
 it to Rome in 194.<sup>4</sup> It is hardly possible that they would  
 have continued to Rome before receiving new orders from  
 Antiochus; Holleaux's opinion, therefore, seems more logical.

Furthermore, the fact that the Syrian ambassadors to  
 Rome in 193 (Embassy 6a) did not mention the legation of 195  
 also explains that there could not have been one to Rome in  
 195. It seems, too, that Rome would have sent an embassy in  
 answer to it, of which there is no evidence.

After the Syrian legates were referred to the Senate,

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 87-8, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 91, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 25. 1-2. This passage does not  
 state that the embassy was sent to Flamininus first. There  
 is no evidence that it went on to Rome. Per eosdem dies et  
Antiochi legatis de societate agentibus respondit nihil se  
absentibus decem legatis sententiae habere. Romam eundum ad  
senatum iis esse.

<sup>4</sup>Leuze, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Holleaux, *REA* XV (1913) 8-9,  
 who says that the embassy was sent in the spring of 194.

# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the Americas in search of a new life. These early pioneers faced many hardships, but they persevered and built a new society. Over time, the United States grew from a small colony into a powerful nation. It fought wars, both with and without, and emerged as a global superpower. The story of the United States is a testament to the human spirit and the power of dreams.

The United States has a rich and diverse culture. It is a land of many different people, each with their own traditions and customs. This diversity is one of the strengths of the United States. It has allowed the country to embrace new ideas and innovations, making it a leader in many fields. The United States is a land of opportunity, where anyone can achieve their dreams.

The United States is a country of many firsts. It was the first to declare independence from a mother country. It was the first to develop a democratic system of government. It was the first to land on the moon. The United States continues to be a country of firsts, and it is proud of its achievements.

the question of the liberation of Argos was introduced at the conference: should Argos be occupied by Nabis, or should it be free as other Greek and Peloponnesian cities were?<sup>1</sup> Flamininus declared that, since it was a Greek affair, the Greek allies should settle it.

After Flamininus spoke at the conference, an Athenian legate thanked the Romans and, without being asked, offered

57. The Athenian ambassador and

58. The Aetolian envoy at the conference of Corinth, spring, 195.

aid against Nabis,<sup>2</sup>

whereas in the war

against Philip, they had

to be urged to join the Romans. The Aetolian Alexander then complained of the Roman treatment of the Aetolians. They felt defrauded, because they were Philip's first enemy<sup>3</sup> and were always allies of the Romans while the Achaeans were at one time in Philip's service. Now, the Romans were considering opposition to Nabis so that Argos could be restored to the Achaeans, while the Aetolians did not receive what they deserved. According to Livy, Alexander added that Greece could not be free unless Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth were free.<sup>4</sup> Livy seems to forget that Flamininus had already

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiv. 22. 6f.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 23. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 8 supra.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiv. 23. 5-9.





declared these free in 196.<sup>1</sup> It may be inferred, however, that the Aetolians were anxious to have the Romans withdraw completely from Greece.

The Achaean strategos, Aristaenus, then, demanded that Argos should be returned to the Achaean League.<sup>2</sup> He also wanted to prevent looting by the Aetolians and to have peace in Greek affairs.

During the Second Macedonian War, Flamininus had been friendly with Nabis and had even recognized his right over Argos. At that time, Rome could not be preoccupied with too many problems. Now, the situation was different. He regarded Nabis as a tyrant who was enslaving Argos and was thus undoing the work of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> If the Romans allowed Nabis to remain in Argos, Flamininus' proclamation for the liberation of all Greece would be worthless.

The allies wanted Nabis to surrender Argos, or they would declare war in order to liberate the city. Nabis refused to surrender it, and Rome found herself embroiled in another war.<sup>4</sup> Flamininus feared Antiochus, who was a constant

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 82-83 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 24. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xviii. 25; Livy xxxiv. 32. 13-17.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 22. 5-24. 7--early 195 (22.4--hibernis actis); X. C.--quo bellum adversus Nabim Lacedaemonium decretum erat, adfertur; A. Aymard, Premiers Rapports, 184-247.



menace, and, therefore, wanted a short war with Nabis.

In the war against Nabis, all Greeks, but the Aetolians, helped Rome. Even Philip, a foe who was recently defeated by Rome and whose resources were exhausted, sent forces to aid her. The war was, however, fought for the most part at sea with the combined fleets of Rome, Rhodes, and Pergamum.<sup>1</sup>

Flamininus was anxious concerning the course of the Aetolians in the war, since they were dissatisfied with Rome's treatment of them. He, therefore, sent Flamininus' legatus to the Aetolians in the spring of 195.<sup>2</sup> an ambassador to them to learn what their attitude was and what course they might take on the Argive question.<sup>3</sup>

Nabis, tired of war, tried to negotiate by offering to abandon Argos; and a conference was held. Flamininus, his brother Lucius, Eumenes of Pergamum, Sosila of Rhodes, Aristaenus of Achaea, and Nabis were all present to discuss terms for peace. Nabis admitted that he had violated his friendship (amicitia) and alliance (societas) with Rome, since he also had an alliance with Philip;<sup>4</sup> but he was ready for

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 22. 6-24. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Not numbered since it is not a senatorial embassy.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiv. 24. 5-7.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiv. 31. 1; 5. Nabis pretended that the amicitia of 197 was renewed, but he did not mention the Treaty of Phoinike, for there was nothing in his favor. See Livy (P) xxxiv. 32. 1. Nabis had an amicitia with Rome in 212, but later joined Philip, her enemy. See Holleaux, Rome, pp. 263-4, n. 4.





peace. Flaminius dictated a Roman peace, which Nabis found hard and refused to accept.

After the failure of the conference, the allies decided to attack Sparta. Flaminius was against this move, for he feared that a siege might last too long, perhaps through the winter. Therefore, when Nabis finally agreed to come to terms, Flaminius, contrary to the desires of the Roman allies, granted him time for deliberation. The Roman allies were eager to continue the war, but Flaminius, anxious for peace, won them over to his opinion.<sup>1</sup>

Nabis held an assembly to explain the Roman demands. All attending felt that they should continue with the war, for they hoped for and expected aid from Antiochus and the Aetolians.<sup>2</sup> Nabis, however, accepting the peace terms, agreed to surrender Argos, Argolis, his possessions in Crete; to give five hostages, including his son; to return any ships that he had seized to the maritime states; to keep only two small vessels (lembi); to pay an indemnity; to return to the Roman allies all captives and fugitives; and to remove garrisons from the states which were friendly to Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Flaminius, on his part, explained the terms to Sulpicus and Villius who, we recall, remained in Greece after

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiv. 33. 3-11.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 37. 2-5.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 35. 2.



the departure of the other commissioners at the end of 196.<sup>1</sup> The three decided to grant Nabis a truce of six months, during which both Flaminius and Nabis could send envoys to Rome, so that the Senate might confirm the peace.<sup>2</sup> This meeting must have occurred in the summer of 195, for Flaminius sent out cohorts for grain, which was already ripe.<sup>3</sup>

The war with Nabis was now over, and Rome was the sole victor. Flaminius was relieved that it was ended, for Villius brought a report that Antiochus was approaching with larger forces.<sup>4</sup> Villius was not a senatorial ambassador on this mission and did not have any diplomatic relations with Antiochus. He had been sent by Flaminius to Thrace merely to see what Antiochus was doing.<sup>5</sup>

In 196, Hannibal had been accused of aiding Antiochus against Rome because of some financial mismanagement in

<sup>1</sup>See p. 91 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 35. 1-3. Indutiae of six months for Nabis, the Romans, Pergamum, and Rhodes. There is no reference to the Achaeans. (2)--sex mensium indutiae ut essent Nabidi Romanisque et Eumeni regi et Rhodiis legatos extemplo mitterent Romam T. Quinctius et Nabis, ut pax (ex) auctoritate senatus confirmaretur.

<sup>3</sup> Livy (P) xxxiv. 26. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 33. 12; Appian Syr. 6.

<sup>5</sup>Livy xxxiv. 59. 8--qui Lysimachiae apud eum, fuerant, placuit, P. Sulpicium, P. Villium, P. Aelium.... See Justinus xxxi. 4. 4. Weissenborn, ed., in the note on Livy states that Sulpicius and Aelius were not in the embassy, which met the king at Lysimachia. See Livy xxxiii. 39. 2; this must be in reference to a later embassy in xxxv. 13. 6.





Carthage. Rome, fearing that Hannibal might join Antiochus in a war against her, sent three legati to Carthage to prevent such a move.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 195, Hannibal went to Syria, where he learned that the king had gone to Ephesus and Thrace. He waited for Antiochus at Ephesus.<sup>2</sup> Since affairs were practically settled with Nabis, Rome was free to turn her attention to Antiochus and Hannibal.

In the early autumn of 195, Flaminius attended the Nemean festival at Argos, at which a proclamation was read, stating that Rome granted freedom to Argos.<sup>3</sup> The proconsul returned the city to the Achaean League and also entrusted to it the Laconian coastal towns. The Romans now felt that they had liberated Greece from Nabis as well as from Philip. The Aetolians, however, still looked upon the Romans as tyrants. Flaminius, therefore, did not wish to occupy Greece; for such an act would make the Aetolians right and would aid Antiochus. Flaminius wanted above all the confidence of the Greeks.<sup>4</sup>

After the Nemean festival, Flaminius returned to

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 100 and 102. *infra*; Livy xxxiii. 47. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup>Holleaux, Hermes XLIII (1908) 296 dates Hannibal's arrival in the summer or autumn.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiv. 40. 7- 41. 1. 41. 1--laeta civitas celeberrimum festorum dierum ac nobile ludicrum Nemeorum.... After defeat of Nabis, for the date of games.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 41. 7; 48. 2.



Elatea for the winter.<sup>1</sup> By this time, the envoys of Nabis and Flamininus were in Rome; and the Senate ratified the peace.<sup>2</sup> The Senate at the same time decided that Flamininus should remain in Greece long enough to establish Roman influence.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 48. 2--T. Quinctius Elatiae quo in hiberna reduxerat copias, totum hiemis tempus.... The Olympiad began with the winter.

xxiv. 48. 3--veris initio Corinthum conventu edicto venit.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 43. 1-2--principio anni.... For the terms, see Livy xxxiv. 35. 3-11; 40. 4.

Polybius xvi. 13.

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## 194 B. C.

By 194, relations between Antiochus and Rome stopped; there was no further exchange of embassies. War was imminent. Antiochus was trying to invade Europe in his effort to regain his ancestors' possessions. The Romans were anxious not only about the war with Antiochus but also about the course which Hannibal and the Aetolians might pursue.

In the winter of 194, Flaminius was establishing order in Greece.<sup>1</sup> Philip's old allies, the Achaeans, Epirotes, Boeotians, and Acarnanians, were now allies of Rome. Although these peoples were free, their alliances with Rome had influence on their political policies. Flaminius dealt with the various states as he saw fit, yet did not interfere with their governments. For example, the Boeotians still had the anti-Roman Brachylles as their leader. In 194, it was a liberated Greece, with its states dependent on Rome in some way. Rome was taking the credit for liberating, pacifying, organizing, and the establishing of order.

Even though the Romans had defended the Greek states against Philip and Nabis, many Greeks were still ill-disposed

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 41. 7; 48. 2.

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to them, regarding them as barbarians. The Achaeans, for example, hated the Romans, because the proconsul Flamininus had settled the Spartan question in 195 without consulting them.<sup>1</sup> The Aetolians, we recall, were also hostile to Rome; for Flamininus had denied them the return of several members of their League. The Aetolians even hoped to join with Antiochus in a war against Rome, spreading the propaganda that Greece was not free, since it had the Roman tyrants who had merely replaced the Macedonians. Rome was, therefore, obliged to depend on other Greeks to check the Aetolians.

In order to show the Greeks that the Aetolians were wrong in regarding the Romans as tyrants, Flamininus called a conference at Corinth at the beginning of the spring of 194.<sup>2</sup>

Legates of all Greek states attended the conference, at which Flamininus spoke of the friendship of Rome for the Greeks, as shown in the proclamation which he delivered in 196 at the Isthmian games.<sup>3</sup> He had also promised to evacuate Chalcis, Demetrias and Corinth. He asked for the return of the Romans who had been prisoners in Carthage and who were, at the time, slaves in Greece.

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 96 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 48. 3--initio veris Corinthum conventu edicto venit.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 82 supra.





After the conference, Flaminius sent his troops to Oricus, a town in Illyria, which is situated near Apollonia; while he went to Chalcis and Demetrias. Then, he continued to Thessaly, where he spent much time in reorganization.<sup>1</sup>

Flaminius, thinking that his work in Greece would last and that it would keep Antiochus out, joined his forces at Oricus, whence they set out for Italy in the late summer of 194.<sup>2</sup>

After invading Thrace and conquering several cities along the Aegean coast in the same summer, Antiochus returned to Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> Thus, ended the year 194; the Senate was ready to hold the consular elections.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 51. 4 - 52. 2.

<sup>2</sup>A triumph was decreed for him when he came to Italy--ad res gestas edisserendas, Livy xxxiv. 52. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxv. 13. 4--extremo iam hiemis Ephesum pervenit; inde principio veris....

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiv. 54. 1.



193 B. C.

In the beginning of 193, numerous reports of an earthquake were delivered to the senate, but the Senate was preoccupied with the newly elected consuls.<sup>1</sup>

At this time, too, Macedonian ambassadors were at Rome, perhaps for the purpose of reporting Antiochus'

proximity to Macedonia and for the purpose of gaining Roman support. In answer to them, the Senate promised to return Philip's son to him, who had been a hostage since the end of the Second Macedonian War, and to cancel a part of the indemnity which Philip owed Rome. Philip also secured the hope of regaining the stronghold of Demetrias.<sup>2</sup>

Envoys from Antiochus were also present in Rome in the early part of 193. Antiochus may have sent them out in 194, for they were in Rome during the winter of 194-3. This is, however, doubtful, since they were still there in the spring

61. Philip's Envoys  
at Rome in the  
winter of 194-3.

62. The Syrian  
legation at  
Rome early in 193.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiv. 55. 1-2--principio anni neque senatus haberi neque res publica administrari poterat sacrificando expiandoque occupati consulibus.

<sup>2</sup>Diodorus 28. 15.





of 193,<sup>1</sup> which would mean that they had to travel during the winter, which would have been dangerous. Therefore, it seems logical that the Syrian king sent them in the fall of 194, that they spent the winter of 194-3 and the early spring of 193 in Rome, and that they returned to the East in the late spring of 193.

Flamininus requested that the Senate hear the results of his work and that of the ten commissioners in Greece and that it hear the envoys of the Greek states, of Asia, and the Kings. The urban praetor, C. Scribonius, brought them before the Senate.<sup>2</sup>

The Syrian legates, Menippos, Lysias, and Hegesianax, asked for a Roman amicitia (friendship) and societas (alliance), explaining that Antiochus did not want a war with Rome.<sup>3</sup> Menippos asked caution in the decree in order to avoid upsetting the world.<sup>4</sup> Flamininus was then called upon to answer them. He declared that, in order to have an amicitia and societas with Rome, Antiochus would have to keep out of Europe. If he persisted, however, in remaining, the Romans would be forced to guard the friendship which they

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 13. 4--ea hieme Raphiae.... inde principio veris...; Appian Syr. 9-12; Zonaras 9. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxiv. 57. 1-2; Diodorus 28. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiv. 57. 2-6; Appian Syr. 6; Diodorus 28. 17 calls Menippos the leader of the embassy. Appian Syr. 6-7. See Holleaux REA XV (1913) p. 18.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxiv. 59. 7.

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had with some Asiatic states and to form a new friendship with others.

The Romans had freed Greece from Philip, and they would liberate Asia from Antiochus. Flamininus stated that the Romans would treat Antiochus as they had treated Philip, if it should be necessary. Rome would use the same virtus and fides that they had used in regard to Philip.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, if he renounced his possessions in Europe and the right to intervene there, the Romans would not occupy any cities of Asia. The Senate promised to send an embassy to Antiochus.

While the Syrian legation was in Rome, Flamininus called the embassies of the 63. Embassies of the Greek and Asiatic states at Rome in the winter of 193. Greek and Asiatic states which had come at that time. Their purpose was to learn what attitude Rome and Antiochus had concerning their states. The states represented are not specifically mentioned.<sup>2</sup> They received a kind reply.<sup>3</sup>

The Syrian legates, returning to the East, stopped

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxiv. 59. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>Diod. xxviii. 15; App. Syr. 6. Livy xxxiv. 57. 1; 59. 4--Quinctius legationes universas Graeciae Asiaeque cum in senatum introduxisset, ut scirent quali animo populus Romanus, quali Antiochus erga civitates Graeciae essent, postulata et regis et sua exposuit.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxiv. 57. 3--benigneque omnibus responsum.

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at Aetolia, where the war party was in power under the leadership of Thoas.<sup>1</sup> The Aetolians hoped that Antiochús would make conquests in Europe and would declare war on Rome. They even planned to involve both Philip and Nabis against Rome. They, therefore, called an assembly at Naupactus in the spring of the year.<sup>2</sup>

At this meeting, Thoas complained of the wrongs committed by the Romans against the Aetolians, who had made the Roman victory over Philip possible. He thought it advisable to send ambassadors to Philip, Nabis, and Antiochus in the hope of affecting a war against Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Damocritus, the emissary to Nabis, stressed the point that the Achaeans were dominating the Peloponnese and that Nabis would never regain his possessions, unless he joined Antiochus and the Aetolians in a war against Rome. Damocritus did not yet know whether Antiochus would wage war on Rome or not; but, by acting positive of Syrian action against Rome, he hoped to convince Nabis more easily.<sup>4</sup>

Nicander, the envoy to Macedonia, tried to influence

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 12. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 12. 3--concilium Naupactum indixerunt.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 17. 3--Rex dimissis eis consilium de bello Romano habuit.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 12. 1.



Philip to wage war against Rome. He referred to the former reputation of Macedonian rulers and to  
 65. Nicander goes to Philip in the spring of 193. their success; asked the King to join the Aetolians, as an ally, against Rome; and thus to gain revenge for the wrongs which he had suffered because of Rome.

Damocritus was successful in convincing Nabis, for the Spartan immediately started to recover the coastal towns which he had lost and the Achaeans were guarding at that time.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the conflict between Sparta and Achaea began by the summer of 193. Because of this,  
 66. The Achaean embassy to Nabis in the summer of 193. the Achaeans sent legates to Nabis who protested against his action and warned him not to break the peace which he had sought.<sup>2</sup> They also sent auxiliaries to watch Gytheum which was being besieged.

Nicander, on the other hand, did not influence Philip, since, first of all, the Aetolian showed no tact in discussing the past success of the Macedonians and in advising him to wait for Antiochus to act. Philip hated the Aetolians and felt that he gained some revenge in that they appealed to him for aid. Furthermore, he did not want to be engaged in another conflict against Rome, and so refused to

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 13. 1.

<sup>2</sup>(P) xxxv. 13. 2.

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join the Aetolians.

While the Aetolians were stirring up opposition against Rome, Roman ambassadors  
 67. The Roman embassy in the East arrived in Asia Minor, namely, P. in the summer of 193. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P.

Aelius.<sup>1</sup> The Senate had promised in the spring of this year (193) to send to Antiochus the legati who had been at Lysimachia in 196.<sup>2</sup>

Neither Sulpicius nor Aelius is mentioned by Polybius or Livy as attending the conference at Lysimachia in 196.<sup>3</sup> Holleaux argues that they may have been there but may not have been spoken of. He adds that the Senate would probably send the same envoys in 193, as had been at Lysimachia in 196, since they were familiar with the circumstances.<sup>4</sup>

The Roman embassy first stopped at Pergamum,<sup>5</sup> where Eumenes the King was eager for war with Antiochus. He believed that it was better to suffer, if necessary, as a

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 59. 4-8; xxxv. 17. 2; Justinus xxxi. 4. 4. App. Syr. 9 includes P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus as a legatus; Livy (P) xxxv. 13. 6--P. Sulpicius and P. Villius. See Holleaux, REA XV (1913) 11. xxxiv. 59. 1--P. Sulpicius, qui maximus natu ex decem legatis erat.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 87 supra.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 87; n. 1, supra.

<sup>4</sup>REA, XV, (1913) 11.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 13. 6--iussi prius Eumenem adire.

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Roman ally than to endure the rule of Syria. The Romans reached Pergamum in the summer, since they did not leave Rome until the late spring after the Syrian ambassadors had left Rome.<sup>1</sup>

After their visit at Pergamum, Sulpicius and Aelius met Hannibal at Ephesus.<sup>2</sup> Villius went on to Apamea to interview Antiochus, who was rejoicing over his daughter's marriage to Ptolemy.<sup>3</sup> Villius delivered the same ultimatum, that was given the Syrian envoys (Embassy 62) earlier in the year. Appian states that at Apamea Antiochus was willing to recognize the autonomy of Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus, and other Asiatic states, if Rome would form an alliance with him.<sup>4</sup> Negotiations were, however, suddenly interrupted, when news came of the death of Antiochus' son. Villius then met his colleagues at Ephesus.

A conference was held there between the Roman ambassadors and Antiochus' adviser, Minnio. Since Minnio insisted on the King's right to reconquer his ancestors'

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 20. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxv. 14. 5. See Holleaux, Hermes XLVIII (1913) 75-98; Nissen op. cit. 99, 167.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 15. 1-2--Villius at Epheso Apameam processit eo et Antiochus audito legatorum Romanorum adventu occurrit. Justinus xxxi. 4. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Appian Syr. 9 includes P. Scipio Africanus in the embassy--ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων. See App. Syr. 12 on Antiochus' offer--this evidence is weak.





possessions, they could not reach an understanding.<sup>1</sup>

The Romans called in envoys of several Greek states, who made complaints against Antiochus. The names of the states are not given. The conference was, however, dismissed without any settlement.<sup>2</sup> The Romans returned to Rome in 193.<sup>3</sup>

After the conference at Ephesus, Minnio arranged a council for war. Hannibal recommended an invasion of Greece by Antiochus, while he would help by organizing in Carthage.<sup>4</sup>

Antiochus still hoped for peace with Rome in spite of the promises of the Aetolian envoy, Dicaearchus.

68. Dicaearchus  
visits Antiochus in the autumn of 193.

Dicaearchus tried to convince the Syrian to war against Rome, as Damocritus had in the case of Nabis (Embassy<sup>67</sup>)

and Nicander, in the case of Philip (Embassy<sup>65</sup>). The Aetolian boasted of his people's ability; they had been responsible for the Roman victory in the Second Macedonian War. He promised assistance to Antiochus. Even though he was not certain of the course which Nabis and Philip would take, Dicaearchus announced that they were prepared to fight. Antiochus was not easily moved.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 15. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 16. 1 - 17. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 17. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxiv. 60. 5; xxxv. 42; Justinus xxxi. 4. 1 - 6. 2; App. Syr. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Livy xxxv. 12. 15-18.



192 B. C.

At the end of 193, the Roman ambassadors (Embassy<sup>67</sup>) who had gone to Antiochus in the summer of the same year, returned to Rome with the proconsul, Flamininus.<sup>1</sup> These legati reported that there was no good reason for war with anyone but Nabis.<sup>2</sup>

About this time, an Achaean legation reported to the Senate that Nabis of Sparta was attacking the Laconian shore

contrary to the foedus of 195.<sup>3</sup> Nabis  
<sup>69.</sup> The Achaean embassy to Rome had jumped at the opportunity to join  
 at the end of 193. the Aetolians and Antiochus against

Rome, when the Aetolian ambassador, Damocritus, appealed to him in the spring of 193 (Embassy<sup>64</sup>). The Aetolians, the Achaeans reported, were trying to arouse a war against Rome and so invited Antiochus to Greece.<sup>4</sup>

In the winter of 193-2, the Romans found themselves

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxv. 20. 14. For the legati, see xxxiv. 49. 8; xxxv. 17. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxv. 22. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 25. 4; 22. 2--contra foedus maritimam oram Laconum oppugnare....

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 13. 3.





in a state of confusion. They feared the Aetolians who were constantly stirring up opposition to Rome in Greece. Nabis at the appeal of the Aetolians had already started operations. They further feared Antiochus who, it was rumored, was already in Aetolia and was making plans to sail to Sicily.<sup>1</sup> The Senate tried, therefore, to take all precautions against a possible invasion of Sicily. It sent Atilius with a fleet to help guard the Roman allies.<sup>2</sup> It also appointed a commission of four, Flamininus, Cn. Octavius, Cn.

70. The Roman Embassy to Greece in the winter of 192.

Servilius, and P. Villius, to win support in Greece against the Aetolians and

Antiochus, in case there should be a war. The Commission arrived in Greece at the end of the winter or at the beginning of the spring of 192. Its task was to prevent revolts and to influence cities, which had alliances with Rome, to maintain them.<sup>3</sup>

When the Roman envoys arrived in Greece, Thoas, the

71. The Aetolian legate to Antiochus in the winter of 192.

Aetolian strategos had already gone to Antiochus to urge him to fight against the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxv. 22. 1-3--Sub idem tempus legati ab regibus Roman reverterunt...., 23. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxv. 23. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxv. 23. 5--ad tenendos sociorum animos....  
Zonar. 9. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxvi. 7. 12; Appian Syr. 12.



The Achaeans were ready to declare war on Nabis, who continued with the attacks which he had begun in the previous year.<sup>1</sup> Philopoemon, the Achaean leader, hoping to expand the Achaean territory and resources at the expense of Sparta, wanted to begin action before the embassy (Embassy 69) should return from Rome. Some Achaeans wished to await the Senate's reply. Philopoemon's opinion, however, prevailed; and the Achaeans began action. Although they were defeated off Gytheum (Laconia), they were able to score a victory over Nabis near Mt. Barboesthes.

When their envoys returned from Rome, the Achaeans decided to send ambassadors to Flamininus to learn of his plans. They also held an assembly at Sicyon, at which a letter from the Roman proconsul (Flamininus) was read, in which he urged them to delay their decision for war until the Roman fleet should arrive. Philopoemon then spoke of the preparations of the Aetolians and ordered the Achaeans to make their decision as soon as possible. His speech aroused them to declare war.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman legati (Embassy 70) stopped at Athens, Chalcis, and Demetrias. At Chalcis, the anti-Roman party was in power, but the Romans succeeded in changing the

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 25. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 25. 7; 48-50.





attitude toward them.<sup>1</sup> This commission, we recall, had left Rome in the winter of 192 to win support in Greece against the Aetolians and Antiochus.<sup>2</sup>

The people of Demetrias at an assembly declared that they had been betrayed by the Romans. Eurylochus, a Magnesian chief, had brought the rumor that the Romans promised to return the fortress (Demetrias) to Philip. As a result of this rumor, they leaned toward the Aetolians. The support of Philip at that time was undoubtedly as important to the Romans as the good-will of the people of Demetrias.<sup>3</sup>

Eurylochus preferred the influence of the Aetolians and Antiochus to that of the Romans. Zenon, another Magnesian leader, admitted that all the Magnesians owed their liberty to Flamininus and the Romans and that they would not wish to violate the Roman amicitia. He effected the banishment of Eurylochus who then tried to increase Aetolian hostility toward Rome.<sup>4</sup>

In the early spring of this year, Antiochus sent his envoy, Menippos, to the Aetolians together with the Aetolian

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 1-3--legati Romanorum circuire sociorum urbes solliciti ne Aetoli partis alicuius animos ad Antiochum avertissent.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 114, supra.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 7--suggests that the rumor had some basis--ita disserendum erat ne timorem vanum iis demendo spes incisa, Philippum obalienaret, in quo plus ad omnia momenti quam in Magnetibus esset.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 3- 32. 2.



Thoas, who had spent the winter with the King. They re-  
 turned in time for the spring assem-  
 73. Syrian legate bly (Panaetolica).<sup>1</sup> Although the  
 to the Aetolians in the spring of 192.  
 date of the assembly is not clear

from Livy, it must have taken place in the early months of  
 the year; for Flamininus was present shortly after his ar-  
 rival in Greece, which was in the winter of this year.<sup>2</sup>

Thoas, who was first to speak at the assembly, an-  
 nounced that the King (Antiochus) would soon come to Greece.

Then, Menippos spoke. Since it was his task to stir  
 up feeling for Antiochus, he declared that the King was  
 willing to aid the Aetolians and to help to restore Greek  
 freedom. He added that it was best for all in Asia and  
 Greece to have Antiochus intervene, for he alone could  
 restore their ancient dignity and liberty.<sup>3</sup>

An Athenian legate, who attended the assembly at the  
 request of Flamininus, advised the  
 74. The Athenian envoy at the Panaetolica in Aetolians of the Roman societas  
 the spring of 192. and of the merits of Flamininus to  
 all Greeks.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 32. 6. See Holleaux, BCH, XXIX, (1905) 362-72, who dates the spring assembly in February or March.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 114, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 32. 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 2 - 32. 1.







Although many Aetolians opposed the admission of the Romans to the assembly, Flaminius was finally admitted. He

Flaminius at the Aetolian assembly in the spring of 192.<sup>1</sup> reviewed Roman relations with the Aetolians from the beginning of their societas and suggested that they send an embassy to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Thoas was, however, successful in having a decree passed that Antiochus should deliver Greece and arbitrate between the Aetolians and Romans.<sup>3</sup>

After the Panaetolian assembly, the Roman fleet arrived in Laconia and recovered Gytheum for the Achaeans together with other coastal towns which Nabis had seized. This reassured the Roman allies.

Flaminius, at that time, made a truce with Nabis, according to Appian; and forced the Achaeans to break off their blockade of Sparta.<sup>4</sup> He may have wished to curtail Achaean power, or he may have wanted Peloponnesian affairs settled before Antiochus came to Greece.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, the Aetolians sent envoys to Chalcis, Sparta, and Demetrias in the hope of acquiring Chalcis and

<sup>1</sup>Not numbered, for Flaminius was not sent by the Senate to the assembly.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 2 - 32.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 33. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Syrian 21--περὶ εἰρήνης. Livy omits the truce.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 32. 2 - 33. 11.



thus of having all of Euboea. Thoas, the delegate to Chalcis,

75. The Aetolian legate announced that he came not to  
to Chalcis between the attack but to liberate the city  
spring and summer of 192. from the Romans. He failed,

however, to win over the support of Chalcis.<sup>1</sup>

Alexamenus went to Sparta for the purpose of removing Nabis, who had become a worthless ally, since he was already at peace with Rome. The envoy met with success at first, but was finally killed. Philopoemon, the Achaean, invaded Sparta and put the pro-Achaean party in power. He further made Sparta a member of the Achaean League by a treaty.<sup>2</sup>

At Demetrias, Diocles won the fortress over to the Aetolian side, which meant that the  
77. The Aetolian envoy at Demetrias in the summer of 192. Aetolians lost every chance of gaining Philip's support.<sup>3</sup>

Flamininus tried to make Chalcis free in order that the Magnesians might renew their societas with Rome.

Villius, the proconsul's legate who tried to win

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxv. 37. 4 - 38. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 37. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 34. 6-12.

There is a great deal of work to be done in the field of...

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the support of Demetrias for a Roman societas, asked the people whether they preferred to be on Flamininus' Envoy to Demetrias in the summer of 192.<sup>1</sup> the side of their amici (friends) or on that of their enemy.<sup>2</sup> This was the last attempt to conciliate the Magnesians, who remained ill-disposed to the Senate and to Flamininus. Villius, then, returned to the proconsul. The Aetolians, with Demetrias as a main port in northern Greece, invited Antiochus to use it as a base for his operations against the Romans.

While the Aetolians were thus making preparations to receive Antiochus, Attalus, Eumenes' brother, reported to the Senate that Antiochus had already crossed the Hellespont and that the Aetolians were prepared to be under arms at his arrival.<sup>3</sup> This probably referred to a Thracian expedition, for Antiochus was still occupied with the siege of towns of Asia Minor and did not as yet want to cross into Europe.

The Senate was most cordial to Attalus and thanked him and his brother, the King. As a result of the Pergamene report, the Senate made plans to send Roman troops under

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<sup>1</sup>This is not a senatorial legation and, therefore, does not have a number.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxv. 39. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxv. 23. 10-11. See Leuze, op. cit., p. 244, n. 2; Holleaux, CAH, VIII (1930) 206.

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the leadership of Baebius to Apollonia.<sup>1</sup>

The Aetolian Thoas, going for a second time to Antiochus, reported the capture of Demetrias and officially invited the King to use it as a base. Antiochus hesitated,

for it was late in the season to  
 79. The Aetolian ambassador to Antiochus begin operations.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he  
 in the autumn of 192. was still besieging Lampsacus,

Smyrna, and Alexandreia, which he could not even bring into an amicitia.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he did not yet wish to cross to Europe; but he knew that the Aetolians were serious because of their capture of Demetrias and thus decided to strike in the early autumn of 192.<sup>4</sup> Actually, Antiochus did not want war with Rome; he wanted only his rights in Asia and Thrace and security against Roman expansion. Crossing to Europe in the autumn, he stopped at Pteleum in Thessaly, whence he was taken to Demetrias by Eurylochus and other Magnesians leaders.<sup>5</sup>

From Demetrias, Antiochus continued to Lamia to attend an Aetolian assembly, at which he made an apology for

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxv. 24. 7--M. Baebius a Brundisio....transire in Epirum est iussus.... This was about the time of the elections at Rome.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 42. 3-14.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 42. 2.

<sup>4</sup>De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 141-7; Bickermann, "Bellum Antiochum", Hermes, LXVII (1932) 47-76.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 43. 1-6.





having come with fewer troops than the Aetolians expected. He gave as an excuse the fact that it was not a good time for sailing<sup>1</sup>--this meant that it was late in October, when the "bad season" began.

At the assembly, there was some contention between Phaeneas, who had already been elected strategos for 191, and Thoas.<sup>2</sup> Phaeneas wanted peace and arbitration with the Romans, because he was aware of their strength; but Thoas, who wanted war, had a decree passed by which Antiochus would deliver Greece and settle the quarrel between the Romans and Aetolians.<sup>3</sup>

About this time, Baebius, who had been in Brundisium, went to Illyria with his forces.<sup>4</sup> This was after the elections at Rome, which were held earlier this year.<sup>5</sup> As soon as the new consuls took office, the Senate declared war on Antiochus and the Aetolians.<sup>6</sup>

The Aetolians made an expedition against Chalcis,

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxv. 44. 3--tempore ad navigandum immaturo. Kromayer, op. cit., II, 220.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxv. 44. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xx. 1; Livy (P) xxxv. 43. 7 - 45. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxv. 20. 8-12; 24. 7...M. Baebius--est iussus.

<sup>5</sup>Livy xxxv. 24. 1--nuntii bellum instare adferrent consules primo quoque tempore....

<sup>6</sup>Livy xxxv. 40. 2--consulibus designatis....L. Quinctius Flaminius et Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus consules in provincias profecti sunt....



which, they hoped, would destroy the societas with Rome. After this expedition, they held another meeting, which must have been in November, 192 (Julian), being still anxious to destroy the Roman amicitiae and societates with states of Greece.<sup>1</sup>

Antiochus was eager for a neutral Achaea, but the Achaeans regarded him as the champion of the Aetolians and

80. The Syro-Aetolian embassy to the Achaeans at the end of 192 or at the beginning of the Consular Year, 191. wanted to see him defeated. They called an assembly at Aegium, to which a combined Syro-Aetolian embassy came. Antiochus' legate spoke first and made empty promises.

Since Flamininus was also at the assembly, the Aetolian envoy, Archidamus, took the opportunity to insult the Romans and Flamininus, by stating that the Aetolians had won the victory in 197 and safety for the Romans.<sup>2</sup>

The Achaeans called upon the Roman proconsul to answer the Syro-Aetolian embassy for Flamininus at the Achaean assembly in 192 or 191. them. They decided to declare war on Antiochus and the Aetolians. The Syro-Aetolian legation, thus, returned to the King with an unfavorable reply from the Achaeans.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 34. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 25. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 31. 1.

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The Syro-Aetolian embassy next tried the Boeotians,

expecting to meet with more success

80. The Syro-Aetolian goes to Boeotia and to Athamania.

than among the Achaeans. Although

the Boeotians were angry at the Romans

because of the death of their leader, Brachylles, an anti-Roman, they refused to commit themselves until Antiochus should appeal to them in person.<sup>1</sup>

At Athamania, the Syro-Aetolian embassy filled Amynder with the hope of acquiring a Macedonian kingdom. In the Second Macedonian War, he was a Roman ally; in this war, the Aetolians and Syrians aimed to make him a Roman foe. Amynder was easily influenced.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Chalcis sent an ambassador, Micythio, to

81. The Legate from Chalcis to Flamininus at the end of 192 or beginning of 191.

Flamininus to appeal for a

garrison for the city.<sup>3</sup> The

Achaeans, at the advice of the

proconsul, together with the Pergamenes were garrisoning the city. The Achaeans also sent men to Athens to prevent any anti-Roman uprising.<sup>4</sup>

The operations at the end of 192 (Julian) or at the

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xx. 2; Livy (P) xxxv. 50. 5.

<sup>2</sup>See n. 1, supra.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 39. 1-8; 48. 1 - 50. 4; 38. 1; xxxv. 46. 12-13. xxxv. 48. 1--Aegii datum est concilium. On Aegium, see xxxviii. 30. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius iii. 3. 3; Livy xxxix. 3. 8.



beginning of 191 (Consular) were important. Antiochus' general, Menippos, defeated a Roman garrison at Delium in Boeotia and seized Chalcis,<sup>1</sup> which gave Antiochus all of Euboea. The Senate, then, felt justified in declaring war. M' Acilius Glabrio, one of the consuls for 191, received Greece as his province, where he would go as soon as the weather would allow.<sup>2</sup>

The Senate sent M. Porcius Cato as a legatus to

82. The Roman legatus Cato various towns in Greece--  
to Greece at the end of to Patrae, which is in Achaea,  
192 or beginning of 191. near the Corinthian Gulf; to  
Aegium; to Corinth; and to Athens<sup>3</sup>--to gain their good-will.  
Because of Cato's propaganda and its appeal, these towns  
lost faith in Antiochus, who had asked them to permit  
themselves to be liberated by him without war.

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxv. 50. 6 - 51. 10; Appian Syr. 12; Diod. 29. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvi. 3. 7-8--Acilius consulted the fetiales, as was customary. Ipsive utique regi Antiocho indiceretur bellum, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod eius nuntiari num Aetolis quoque separatim indici iuberent bellum, et num prius societas et amicitia eis renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum. The reply of the fetiales is in 9-12.

<sup>3</sup>Plutarch Cato Maior 12. 4-5.





191 B. C.

At the beginning of the winter of 191, Antiochus was at Demetrias, where a legate from Epirus and one from Elis met him.<sup>1</sup>

Charops of Epirus asked the Syrian king for protection, in return for which, he reported, his government would allow him to enter its cities and harbors.

85. The Epirote legate to Antiochus in January, 191.

Epirus did not wish to take part in the war with Rome. In reply to this mission, Antiochus promised to send an embassy to Epirus concerning their mutual interests.

The ambassador from Elis, Callistratus, asked Antiochus for aid, because his people feared the Achaeans. The Seleucid promised Callistratus that he would send 1000 soldiers to Elis.

84. The Ambassador from Elis to Antiochus in January, 191.

About the time of the embassies from Epirus and Elis, Antiochus called a conference at Demetrias to discuss the question of Macedonia and Thessaly. Hannibal, who attended the conference, recommended an alliance with

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 6. 6; Appian Syr. 13; Justinus xxxi. 5.



Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> If Antiochus could not effect an alliance with Philip, it would be necessary to make him neutral, even by attack. He urged Antiochus to transport Syrian troops to Greece and to Epirus and the fleet to the Italian coast and Corcyra in order to keep the Romans from crossing. Antiochus, however, rejected this plan; for his interest was in an invasion to free Thessaly.<sup>2</sup>

In preparation for such an invasion, Antiochus went to Pherae to wait for Amynder of Athamania and the Aetolians. Amynder was eager to make conquests, as were the Aetolians. The Athamanian, therefore, occupied Pelinna and Limnaeum, while the Aetolians invaded Perrhaebia. Antiochus himself prepared for the siege of Larissa. This was a dangerous undertaking, since it was winter-time. Moreover, since his troops were tired, Antiochus had to cease operations. He, however, placed garrisons in Thessaly.<sup>3</sup> The invasion by the Seleucid brought Philip, who had been neutral, to the side of Rome,<sup>4</sup> while the presence of a Roman force at Gonni under the leadership of Appius Claudius showed that the Romans were in the war and that they had an understanding with Philip. Besides, the fact

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 7. 17-20.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 7. 1 - 8. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 6. 10--ex hieme, quae tum ferme media erat....

<sup>4</sup>App. Syr. 16-- ἐξήλθο το ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν, ἀρχοντά τινος πλησίον στρατοῦ....





that Philip of Megalopolis was burying the men who had fallen at Cynoscephalae in 197 hurt Philip of Macedon and drove him to support the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

After Antiochus' invasion of Thessaly, Philip of Macedon suggested a meeting with Baebius, the Roman commander, who had already arrived in Apollonia, in order to discuss their course of action. Cooperation with Rome was the only way in which Philip could reestablish Macedonian power and influence. As De Sanctis says,<sup>2</sup> however, Philip's cooperation with Rome weakened the Aetolians and the other Greek powers which would ultimately lend him support. He felt that it was necessary for him to gain as much as possible and to destroy anyone who clashed with or opposed him in any way.

Philip met Baebius at Dassaretia, where they agreed that the Macedonian would retain any possessions that he might win from the Aetolians and their allies.<sup>3</sup> Since Philip was already a Roman ally, there was no written record of his conference with Baebius. By this time, the end of January, 191, the Roman forces crossed from Brundisium to Epirus under the leadership of M. Acilius Glabrio, the consul. The consuls, at the order of the senate had made the necessary

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 8. 3-6.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., IV, 1, 153, n. 72.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 10. 10.



sacrifices and prayers that the war, which the Senate had in mind, would go well.<sup>1</sup> A rogatio had also been presented to the people.<sup>2</sup> After consulting the college of the fetiales, he left Rome in May.<sup>3</sup>

Antiochus at this time withdrew to Chalcis to his winter quarters. In 192, he had all of central Greece but Attica and Acarnania. At the beginning of spring in this year (191), he made an attempt to win over the Acarnanians. While Antiochus was thus engaged, the Romans began war by operating in Thessaly under the command of Baebius, with whom Philip collaborated. Soon afterwards, Acilius, the consul, met them at Limnaeum, which, occupied by Amynder, was being attacked by Philip.

About April of this year Philip, who was a threat to the Aetolians, seized Athamania and caused the King, Amynder, to flee to Ambracia. The Roman consul at this time won the

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvi. 1. 1-2--bene atque feliciter.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvi. 1. 4--vellent iuberentur cum Antiocho rege, quinque eius sectam secuti essent, bellum iniri.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvi. 3. 7-8. This was at the order of the senatus consultum-ipsine utique regi Antiocho indiceretur bellum an satis, esset ad praesidium alicuod eius nuntiari; et num Aetolis quoque separatim indici iuberent bellum et num prius societas et amicitia eis renuntianda esset quam bellum indicendum. See 3. 9-12.

He left Rome, xxxvi. 3. 14. His consulship began in the winter--Ides of March fell thus in this year, xxxvi. 2. 1.

xxxvi. 2. 2--SC--quod populus Romanus eo tempore duellum iussisset esse cum rege Antiocho quique sub imperio eius essent, ut eius rei causa supplicationem imperarent consules, utique M'Acilius consul ludos magnos Iovi voveret et dona ad omnia pulvinaria.







submission of all the towns which favored Antiochus.

The clash between Rome and Antiochus culminated in the battle of Thermopylae, which has been dated both in April and May of 191.<sup>1</sup>

Kromayer supports April, since Acilius was at Brundisium in January and crossed to Illyria at the end of the winter.<sup>2</sup> It took him about a month to reach Thessaly, thus, March or the beginning of April. Besides, the consul overtook Antiochus in Acarnania, which the King invaded at the beginning of spring (principio veris).<sup>3</sup> Holleaux and De Sanctis agree with Kromayer as to the date of the battle.<sup>4</sup>

Leuze, however, prefers May as the date for the contest at Thermopylae.<sup>5</sup> He states that Acilius crossed to Illyria at the time which was suitable for sailing.<sup>6</sup> He believes that this time was later than the spring equinox. It seems, however, that the suitable time for sailing could

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 14. 7-9; 25. 1; Appian Syr. 21; Plutarch Flam. 15. Livy (P) xxxvi. 25. 1--eodem tempore quo Romani Heracleam, Philippus Lamiam ex composito oppugnabat.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., II, 224. Kromayer draws from Livy xxxvi. 3. 13--ut ii omnes Brundisium idibus Maiis convenirent.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 11. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Holleaux, CAH, VIII, (1930) 214; De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 389.

<sup>5</sup>Op. cit., p. 268.

<sup>6</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 12. 11--maturum iam ad navigandum.



start earlier than this. Therefore, Leuze's evidence appears to be slight. The battle of Thermopylae was a Roman victory after which Antiochus withdrew to Chalcis and later moved to Ephesus. After this victory, Acilius besieged Phocis, Boeotia, Euboea, and then returned to Thermopylae.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards, he began a siege of Heraclea, which fell about a month later, at the end of June or the beginning of July.<sup>2</sup>

This siege broke the resistance of the Aetolians who had sent Thoas and Nicander to  
 85. The Aetolian leg-  
 ates to Antiochus in  
 the early summer of 191. Ephesus to ask Antiochus for aid  
 against it.<sup>3</sup> The King kept Thoas  
 at court to show his friendship for the Aetolians and sent  
 Nicander back with promises of money and troops.

At the advice of Phaeneas, their strategos, the  
 Aetolians sent a legation to the  
 86. The Aetolian em-  
 bassy to Acilius in Roman consul, Acilius, in order to  
 the summer of 191. secure an armistice and peace.

Acilius granted the Aetolians a ten-day truce.<sup>4</sup>

The same embassy later met L. Valerius Flaccus, who was at Hypata. At that time, the Aetolians decided to turn to the Romans. They felt, however, that the Roman demands

<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 20. 1 - 21. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvi. 23. 6--per quattuor et viginti dies.

<sup>3</sup>See note 3, supra.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxvi. 28. 1





were too harsh: they were not to cross to Asia; they were to surrender Dicaearchus of Plataea and Menestratus of Epirus, Amynanander and the Athamanians, who had joined them. Although the terms were severe, the Aetolians, finally accepting them, received another armistice for ten days. After the armistice, hostilities were resumed. For the Aetolians were encouraged by Nicander's report from Antiochus, as well as that from Philip of Macedon.<sup>1</sup>

Philip had seized the Aetolian Nicander on his return from Antiochus and had interviewed him. Their relations were friendly. About the same time, the Romans asked Philip to withdraw from Lamia, which he was besieging. With such news, the Aetolians did not want to make peace with the Romans.<sup>2</sup>

After relations between the Aetolians and Romans were broken off, the Romans began a siege of Naupactus.<sup>3</sup> This was in August or September, if the winds, as Kromayer says, were the Etesian winds of July and August.<sup>4</sup> The siege

<sup>1</sup>See P. 131 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 25. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xx. 9. 5-- *δεχήμερους δὲ πολυσάμηνος ἀνοχ-*  
*ας*; 10. 12-- *ἤϊον πάλιν ἀνοχὰς αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι δεχήμερους*.  
Livy (P) xxxvi. 27. 3--Hypatam eos datis dierum decem indut-  
iis....; 28. 8; 34. 2. 34. 2--quae iam per duos menses op-  
pugnabatur....

<sup>4</sup>See Aymard, REA XXX (1928) 7-14. Livius stayed at Delos during the summer because of the adversi venti.... See Livy (P) xxxvi. 43. 1--eo tempore consul Acilius Naupac-  
tum oppugnabat.



lasted about two months, during which Philip regained Dolopia, Aperantia, and a good part of Perrhaebia. Meanwhile, in the Peloponnese, Flamininus made Messenia join the Achaean League and made Zacynthos a Roman possession.<sup>1</sup>

After the siege of Naupactus, the fleets of Rome and Syria under the command of Livius<sup>2</sup> and Polyxenidas, respectively, met off Cape Corycus in Lydia. The Romans won the battle after which the Roman admiral, Livius, withdrew to winter quarters near Pergamum, as it was already the end of September.<sup>3</sup>

At this time, Flamininus advised Acilius to make a truce with the Aetolians and to allow them to send an embassy to the Senate. He felt that the constant hostility to them would only tend to increase Philip's power; and that, therefore, the Romans should spare the Aetolians. Acilius, following Flamininus' advice, gave the Aetolians a truce, which would prevent them from helping Antiochus.

At the end of the year, 191, several embassies arrived in Rome. The first to be heard was that from Epirus. The Epirotes had sought the protection

86. The Epirote embassy to Rome in November-December, 191.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 30-1.

<sup>2</sup>Justinus xxxi. 6. 7--interim nuntiatur ei (Antiocho) Livium, Romanum ducem, cum LXXX rostratis manibus in bellum navale a senatu missum adventare.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvi. 45. 6-9. (8)--cum iam hiems appeteret. (9)--Exitu anni, comitia Romae habita....







of Antiochus earlier in the year (Embassy 85) and had allowed him to enter their harbours and cities.<sup>1</sup> They now asked to have friendly relations with Rome.<sup>2</sup> Even though their actions had been unfavorable to Rome, the Senate pardoned the Epirotes and sent the embassy home.

Ambassadors from Philip also came to Rome. They congratulated the Romans on their success at Thermopylae and asked to be permitted to make a sacrifice on the Capitoline and to dedicate a gold crown to Jupiter.<sup>3</sup> They received a hearty welcome and several concessions from the Senate. The Senate returned Philip's son, Demetrius, who had been a hostage since the end of the Second Macedonian War.<sup>4</sup> It also promised to return the rest of the tribute, which Philip owed, if he had already paid for 191 and if he continued to remain loyal to Rome.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 3--this was at the time of the Aetolian embassy--"Οτι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκρη-  
μάτισε τοὺς παρὰ Φιλίππου, πρεσβευτὰς. Appian Syr. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 35. 8-9--(9)--ut in amicitia pris-  
tina esse liceret. (11)--the Senate's answer--que veniam im-  
petrasse, non causam probasse videri possent....

<sup>3</sup>Zonaras 9. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xxi. 3; Appian Syr. 20.

<sup>5</sup>Livy (P) xxxvi. 35. 12-14--(13)--non responsum sol-  
um benigne regis legatis est sed filius quoque Philippi  
Demetrius, qui obses Romae erat, ad patrem reducendus leg-  
atis datus est. See xxxvii. 25. 12--anno priore (191 et  
iam stipendium remissum et filium obsidem redditum.



Envoys from the pro-Achaean government at Sparta

also came to the Senate. They com-  
 90. The Spartan leg-  
 ates to Rome in Nov-  
 ember-December, 191.  
 plained against the return of exiles,  
 because they feared that it would

only cause chaos. The Senate, however, sent these represen-  
 tatives back dissatisfied; for, by the restoration of  
 hostages, the Senate showed no regard for the new govern-  
 ment at Sparta.<sup>1</sup>

Envoys from the consul Acilius addressed the Senate

and, undoubtedly, influenced its reply  
 Legati from Acili-  
 us to Rome, Novem-  
 ber-December, 191.  
 to the Aetolian embassy, which was  
 also present in Rome (Embassy 91).

The Senate made severe demands of the Aetolians:

unconditional surrender, or the payment of an indemnity of  
 1000 talents and an alliance with  
 92. The Aetolian Embas-  
 sy to Rome, November-  
 December, 191.  
 Rome. They were to have the same  
 friends and enemies as the Romans.

The embassy, refusing to accept the terms offered by the  
 Senate, left Rome without reaching any settlement. Mean-  
 while, the consul Acilius, who was spending the winter at  
 Delphi, was continuing to oppose Aetolian influence in  
 Greece.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 1. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 2. 3-6--(6)-- δὲ καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε  
κατὰ μὲν τὸ πάλαι.

Livy (P) xxxvii. 1. 1-6--the elections for 190 had  
 already taken place at Rome. xxxvii. 1. 1--L. Cornelio  
Scipione C. Laelio consulibus....







190 B. C.

While the Senate at Rome was hearing the embassies from the East in the winter of 90. The Pergamene Embassy to the Achaeans in the winter of 191-190. 191-0, Eumenes of Pergamum sent a legation to the Achaeans.<sup>1</sup> This group proposed an alliance, in favor of which the Achaeans voted at a general assembly. As a result of their decision, they dispatched forces under the leadership of Diophanes to aid the allies.

Although Rome had been preoccupied with her war in Greece, she was contemplating an invasion of Asia Minor, since she felt that it was necessary for her to destroy the danger from Syria. News of Antiochus' defeat at Corycus reached Rome in time for further preparations.

Before the consuls-elect for 190 left Rome, an embassy arrived from Egypt to congratulate the Romans on Acilius' success in expelling Antiochus from Greece. This

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 3b.-- "Ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρεσβείας παραγενομένης εἰς Ἀχαιοὺς παρ' Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας, ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὗ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν γὰρ συμμαχίαν ἔπαύσαν καὶ νεανίσκους ἐβασίλευσαν,

and the same day I received from Mr. J. H. ...  
the following letter from Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...

The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...

The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...  
The letter was dated the 1st of ...  
and was addressed to Mr. J. H. ...

was in reference to the Roman victory at Thermopylae.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians also urged the Romans to go to Asia. The Senate thanked the ambassadors and declared gifts for them.<sup>2</sup>

L. Cornelius Scipio, elected consul for 190, who received Greece as his province, and P. Scipio Africanus, the senatorial legatus to Greece, left Rome about July 3 in order to arrive at Brundisium by the 15th.<sup>3</sup> The year before Acilius had left Rome on May 3 and reached Brundisium on May 15.<sup>4</sup> This meant March 14 in the Julian calendar.<sup>5</sup> The Scipios finally arrived in Greece some time in April of 190. Their first act was to try to end the Aetolian war.

<sup>92 Athenian Embassy to Scipios, spring of 190.</sup> When the Athenians heard of the siege of Amphissa by Acilius, the consul of 191, and of the arrival of the Scipios, they at once sent an embassy headed by Echedemus to

<sup>1</sup>See p. 134 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvii. 3. 9-11--(10)-reges Aegypti ad ea quae censuisset senatus, paratos fore.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvii. 4. 1-2--idibus Quinctilibus....4. 4 --per eos dies quibus est profectus ad bellum consul, ludis Apollinaribus a. d. quintum idus Quinctiles. Val. Max. 5. 5. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxvi. 3. 13-14--Brundisium idibus Maiis convenirent ipse ante diem quintum nonas Maias .... For Acilius' departure, see xxxvi. 3. 13-14.

<sup>5</sup>Livy xxxvii. 4. 1-5. See De Sanctis, Op. cit., IV, 1, 368-9. K. J. Beloch, "Der Römische Kalender von 218-168", Klio XV (1918) 382; 391 ff. Beloch is opposed to De Sanctis.





greet them.<sup>1</sup> Since their real purpose, however, was to obtain peace for the Aetolians, they pointed out that it was necessary to defeat Antiochus and not the Aetolians. The Scipios were willing to arrange for peace, but submitted the original terms, which were proposed in 191 and still proved to be too harsh.

The Athenians reported the result of their first meeting with the Scipios to the  
 93. The Athenian envoys meet the Scipios Aetolians, who sent them back to in the spring of 190. ask for leniency in the terms--a smaller indemnity, and the exclusion of their women and politicians from submission.

When the Athenians met the Scipios for the second time, Lucius stated that he had no authority from the Senate

to offer other terms,  
 94. The Aetolians send the Athenian legates to the Scipios upon which the ambassadors again reported to a third time in the spring of 190. the Aetolians. The Aetolians then decided to ask for an armistice and for permission to send an embassy to the Senate. The Athenian legates, coming to the consul for the third time, asked for a six-month truce, during which the

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 4-5.

...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
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...the ... of the ...

Aetolians could send a legation to Rome.<sup>1</sup> This was granted, after which Acilius immediately departed for Rome, and the Scipios left for the Hellespont, where there was much activity.

Philip of Macedon, who had an agreement with Rome only in regard to Aetolian possessions, was not interested

in the Hellespont. Furthermore, he had  
 95. The Roman legatus to Philip in already received his son from the Ro-  
 the summer of 190. mans and the cancellation of the bal-

ance of his tribute to Rome; and, therefore, felt somewhat independent.<sup>2</sup> The Senate, now fearing him, sent Ti.

Sempronius Gracchus to learn of Philip's plans. Philip, who had previously executed the instructions of the Senate by aiding the Romans in Macedon and Thrace, now again offered volunteers and assistance to them.

By the end of the summer of 190, the allies were in control of the Aegean. Antiochus had sent a message to Prusias of Bithynia, asking for an alliance.<sup>3</sup> Because he feared that the Romans would come to Asia and depose the kings there, Prusias was inclined to grant Antiochus'

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 5. 1; 6-13; xxi. 25. 9; Appian Syr. 23 says that Africanus, the legatus, granted the truce and the permission to send an embassy-- αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην πέμψ-  
εῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα...

<sup>2</sup>See p. 134 supra.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 11; Livy (P) xxxvii. 25. 1 ff.; App. Syr. 23.





request. The Scipios, aware of the Bithynian's inclination toward Antiochus, sent a letter to Prusias, in which they explained the Romans' policy, emphasizing the fact that Rome had no intention of depriving rulers of their kingdoms. They even asked for his support. Prusias soon became hesitant about an alliance with the Syrian.

C. Livius, the Roman envoy to Prusias, stressed the point that a Roman victory was more certain than a Syrian and that friendship with Rome had more strength than one with Antiochus. Prusias finally gave up all hope in Antiochus; and, by the end of 190, it was evident that he would render no assistance to him.<sup>1</sup>

Unable to get aid, Antiochus decided to try to control the sea and in that way to keep the war away from Asia. At the beginning of autumn, however, he was forced in the battle of Myonnesus (Ionia) to abandon the defence of the Hellespont.

After the battle of Myonnesus, Antiochus decided to sue for peace. He sent his ambassador, Heracleides, to

96. The Roman legatus at Bithynia at the end of the summer of 190. announce to the consul that he was willing to surrender Lampsacus, Smyrna, and Alexandreia Troas, towns

97. The Syrian envoy to Scipio in the early autumn of 190.

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 11. 12-13; Livy (P) xxxvii. 25. 13-14--qui praetor ante classi praefuerat edocuit quanto et spes victoriae certior Romanis quam Antiocho et amicitia sanctior firmiorque apud Romanos futura esset.



which were the cause of the war, and also other places in Aeolis and Ionia.<sup>1</sup> He would also pay half of the war cost which the Romans had incurred.<sup>2</sup>

Heracleides met Scipio perhaps in October<sup>3</sup> and informed him of the concessions which Antiochus was willing to make, and he added that the King would return his son without ransom. Antiochus would even let Scipio share in the revenue of his kingdom, if he would secure peace for him. The Romans wanted the full indemnity and all the Syrian territory west of the Taurus Mountains, for they felt that the war had started because of Antiochus. Thus, the war between Rome and Syria continued.<sup>4</sup>

L. Aemilius Regillus, commander of the Roman fleet, won a naval victory at Phocaea in Asia Minor and took possession of the town. The people, 98. The embassy from Phocaea to Seleucus IV then, appealed to Seleucus IV, in the autumn of 190. Antiochus' son, who entered the

town. He was, however, unsuccessful in opposing Aemilius.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, the campaign at the Hellespont continued. Scipio, hearing of the Roman victory at Myonnesus, set out

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 136/137 supra.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 13. 1-6; Livy (P) xxxvii. 34. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxvii. 30--per idem fere tempus--Fleet was preparing for winter quarters.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xxi. 15.

<sup>5</sup>Polybius xxi. 6. 1-6; 2. 1-2; Livy xxxvi. 43.





for Lysimachia to meet Antiochus.<sup>1</sup> This was in October, since the fleet was preparing to go into winter quarters. Scipio and Antiochus were to discuss preliminary terms for peace, which were the same as those which the consul had presented to Heracleides.<sup>2</sup> He further demanded the surrender of Thoas, the Aetolian, and Hannibal, the Carthaginian. He also advised the King to send envoys to the Senate.

By this time (about October), the armistice between the Romans and the Aetolians was at an end.<sup>3</sup> The Aetolians

99. The Aetolian embassy then sent an embassy to Rome to Rome at the beginning for terms.<sup>4</sup> This met with of the winter of 190. little success; and, as we shall see, was even ordered out of Rome in 189.<sup>5</sup> Hostilities were thus renewed between Rome and the Aetolian League.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvii. 47. 3.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 140 supra.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 138-9 supra.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xxi. 2; Livy xxxvi. 24, 25-6; Appian Syr. 21--ἐς Πάμωνα πρὸς ἑλπίους ἐπὶ ῥαβδον. Livy xxxvii. 1. 2--suppliciter egerunt, veteribus benefactis nova pesantes male-  
ficia.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 144 infra. See Livy xxxvii. 1. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Livy (P) xxxvii. 49. 1-8; Diodorus 29. 9.



189 B. C.

While the Romans resumed hostilities with the Aetolians, they defeated Antiochus at the end of 190 or at the beginning of 189. This final defeat came at the battle of Magnesia. Pergamum and Rhodes had been of great assistance to Rome in struggle against Antiochus, as they had been in the war against Philip of Macedon. The loyalty of Philip and his hatred of Antiochus had helped the Romans to achieve their victory. Now, the Romans looked to these allies for aid against the Aetolians.

Shortly after the departure of the consuls, M. Aurelius Cotta was sent by L. Cornelius Scipio to the Senate to report the success of the Romans over Antiochus.<sup>1</sup> The news of the Roman victory had upset the Aetolians, as did the expulsion of their embassy (Embassy 92), from Italy.<sup>2</sup>

The Aetolian envoys had refused to answer whether they would allow Rome to act as arbitrator for them and whether they would have the same friends and enemies as

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvii. 52. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvii. 51. 1; 7-8.





Rome.<sup>1</sup> The Aetolians were seeking peace on their own terms from Rome, while they were helping Amynder of Athamania to expel Philip of Macedon from Athamania; and thus to regain his lost territory. Unwilling to yield on any point, the Aetolians made no reply and were ordered out of Rome.<sup>2</sup> They had to be out of Italy before the fifteenth day.<sup>3</sup> This legation returned home about the time that Fulvius crossed to Greece.<sup>4</sup>

Amynder, who had been allied with the Aetolians and Antiochus,<sup>5</sup> was satisfied to be in his own kingdom once more. He, therefore, sent ambassadors to the Scipios at Ephesus to announce his good fortune. Fulvius arrived in Greece just after this embassy.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>107. Amynder's Embassy to Rome, winter of 189.</sup> At the time that he sent legates to the Scipios, Amynder sent an embassy to Rome, also to report his success

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvii. 49. 4-6; Livy xxxvii. 7. 6--the Aetolians get a truce from L. Scipio to send a legation to Rome. Polybius xxi. 5. 6-13; App. Syr. 2-3--οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπεσταλ-  
ται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. See Livy 49. 8 where the Aetolians were warned if their legation came without the imperator's permission qui eam provinciam obtineret and without legatus Romanus, They would be considered as enemies.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvii. 49. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvii. 49. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 3. 1-2; 6. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Livy xxxv. 47. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 3. 1-2; 6.



in regaining his kingdom. Both the embassy to the Scipios (Embassy 100) and the one to Rome (107) tried to renew an alliance with Rome.<sup>1</sup> Actually, Amynder feared the consequences of his alliance with the Aetolians.<sup>2</sup>

Now that Rome had defeated Antiochus, several Greek states were anxious to know what advantages they would reap from the Roman victory; and, therefore, they sent embassies to Rome early in the year 189.<sup>3</sup>

Eumenes, the King of Pergamum, was concerned about the action of Rhodes. He, therefore, 102. The Pergamene embassy to Rome in the winter of 189. hoped that the Romans would remain in possession of the territory in Asia which had belonged to Antiochus, unless he himself could acquire some of it.<sup>4</sup>

An embassy from Smyrna spoke of the good will of its state toward Rome.<sup>5</sup> 103. The legation from Smyrna to Rome.

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 25. 1-2 says that this happened before the battle of Magnesia, while Livy xxxviii. 3. 1 has it after the battle. (1)--ad Scipiones in Asiam Ephesi post magnum cum Antiocho proelium morantes.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxviii. 3. 2--pacem petebat excusabatque sese quod per Aetolos recuperasset paternum regnum; Philippum incusabat.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvii. 51. 3 - 56. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Livy xxxvii. 51. 3 - 54. 1; Polybius xxi. 18-21--

<sup>5</sup>“Οτι ἡ δὲ τῆς Θερμίας ἐνδοκίμοις μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν Περσέως ἀντιόχου . . .

<sup>5</sup>Polybius xxi. 22. 3-4; Livy xxxvii. 54. 2.





The Rhodians commended the work of the Romans in  
 104. Rhodian embassy to Rome. freeing the Greeks of Asia  
 and in gaining autonomy for  
 these. Rhodes hoped to have more influence with the Senate  
 than Pergamum.<sup>1</sup>

After hearing the Rhodian embassy, the Senate called  
 105. Syrian envoys to Rome. Antipater and Zeuxis, Antiochus'  
 emissaries. The Senate voted  
 approval of the terms which Antiochus and Scipio had made;  
 and the people ratified them.<sup>2</sup>

Embassies of other states in Asia Minor were at  
 Rome in the winter of 189. These states  
 106. Other envoys at Rome in the winter of 189. felt that their future depended on the  
 Senate.<sup>3</sup>

In answer to the various embassies, the Senate promised to send ten commissioners to judge all disputes between states. Any territory west of the Taurus Mountains, which had been a part of Antiochus' empire, would go to Eumenes of Pergamum, except for Lycia and the part of Caria, which was south of the Meander River. Rhodes would gain these. Greek cities which had previously paid tribute to Attalus of Pergamum would continue to pay it to Eumenes. Only those

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 22. 5 - 23; Livy xxxvii. 54. 3f.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 24. 1-3; Livy xxxvii. 55. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup>Livy xxxvii. 55. 4-6.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked down at my hands, which were numb from the cold. I tried to shake them, but they wouldn't move. I was in a state of shock, my mind racing with thoughts of what had just happened. I had just been involved in a car accident, and now I was standing in the middle of a snowy road, surrounded by a sea of white. The car was a mess, its metal body crumpled and twisted. I could see the other car in the distance, its headlights illuminating the snow. I felt a sense of isolation, as if I was the only person in the world. I tried to call for help, but my voice was hoarse and I couldn't hear myself. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do.

I tried to walk, but my legs were numb and I couldn't move. I was stuck in the snow, my feet sinking into the soft ground. I looked around, but I didn't see anyone. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do. I tried to call for help, but my voice was hoarse and I couldn't hear myself. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do. I tried to walk, but my legs were numb and I couldn't move. I was stuck in the snow, my feet sinking into the soft ground. I looked around, but I didn't see anyone. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do.

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I tried to call for help, but my voice was hoarse and I couldn't hear myself. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do. I tried to walk, but my legs were numb and I couldn't move. I was stuck in the snow, my feet sinking into the soft ground. I looked around, but I didn't see anyone. I was alone, and I didn't know what to do.

who had paid tribute to Antiochus would stop paying it. The Senate was, thus, most favorable to Pergamum and Rhodes.<sup>1</sup>

Not only had the Aetolians helped Amynder to reconquer his territory, but they also captured Amphiloehia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. Yet, in spite of their success, they were more discouraged; for their representative, Damoteles (Embassy 99) returned from Rome with the report that M. Fulvius Nobilior, the consul for 189, was already on his way to Greece.<sup>2</sup> This was in the early winter of the year.

Because the Aetolians feared the arrival of the Romans, they sent legations to Athens and Rhodes to report the coming of Fulvius and to ask them to send envoys to Rome in their behalf.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time that they sent ambassadors to Athens and Rhodes, the Aetolians sent a new legation to Rome, including Alexander the Isian, Phaeneas, Chalepus, Alypus of Ambracia, and Lycopus. This group never reached Rome, since it was captured by pirates and held for ransom.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvii. 55. 7; xxxviii. 38. 1-18; for the instructions of the ten see 56. 1-6.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 25. 9-10; Livy xxxvii. 49. 6; (P) xxxviii. 3. 6; Diodorus 29. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 25. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xxi. 25. 11.





Although their first embassy for 189 never reached

110. The Aetolian  
Ambassador at Rome  
in the spring of 189.

Rome, the Aetolians were determined  
to have one embassy before the  
Senate. They, therefore, sent

Damoteles again; but he was able to go only as far as Leucas.  
He learned that Fulvius was already at Apollonia and re-  
turned home.<sup>1</sup> This was in the spring of 189, at the begin-  
ning of warm weather (θέρους).<sup>2</sup>

When Fulvius arrived in Apollonia, the Epirotes sent

111. The Epirote en-  
voys to the Roman con-  
sul in the spring of 189.

envoys to advise him to make an  
expedition to Aetolia and to  
march on Ambracia, a member of

the Aetolian League. The consul at once planned to besiege  
Ambracia with the aid of Epirus, while the Achaeans and  
Illyrians ravaged the Aetolian seacoast.<sup>3</sup>

During the siege of Ambracia by the Romans and

112. The Aetolian em-  
bassy to the Consul  
in the spring of 189.

Epirotes, the Aetolians decided to  
send an embassy to Fulvius to try  
to negotiate.

Amynder of Athamania, the Acarnanians, the Athenians,

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 26; Livy xxxviii. 3. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxxi. 26. 4; Livy (P) xxxviii. 3. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 26; Livy xxxviii. 3. 9.

1. The first part of the report is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country.

2. The second part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of industry.

3. The third part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of commerce.

4. The fourth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of agriculture.

5. The fifth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the arts and sciences.

6. The sixth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the social sciences.

7. The seventh part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the natural sciences.

8. The eighth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the physical sciences.

9. The ninth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the mathematical sciences.

10. The tenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the medical sciences.

11. The eleventh part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the legal sciences.

12. The twelfth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the political sciences.

13. The thirteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the economic sciences.

14. The fourteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the historical sciences.

15. The fifteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the literary sciences.

16. The sixteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the philosophical sciences.

17. The seventeenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the theological sciences.

18. The eighteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the scientific sciences.

19. The nineteenth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the artistic sciences.

20. The twentieth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the moral sciences.

21. The twenty-first part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the political sciences.

22. The twenty-second part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the economic sciences.

23. The twenty-third part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the historical sciences.

24. The twenty-fourth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the literary sciences.

25. The twenty-fifth part is devoted to a detailed examination of the various branches of the philosophical sciences.

and the Rhodians all sent embassies to Fulvius to help the Aetolians to get favorable terms. The Romans made the fol-

lowing

113. The Athamanian, 114. The Acarnanian,  
115. The Athenian and 116. The Rhodian lega-  
tions to the Roman Consul in the spring of 189.

demands:

that the

Aetolians pay an indemnity, give hostages, abandon the cities which they had won since 192, have the same enemies and friends as Rome; that they should not allow armed forces against Rome to pass through their territory, that they wage war on any state on which Rome would, that they should not keep or admit into their League cities which were taken by Rome or which allied themselves with her after the crossing of L. Cornelius Scipio to Asia in 190.<sup>1</sup>

Since Fulvius received no answer from the Aetolians

regarding the terms which he

117. The Aetolian leg-  
ate to the Consul in  
the summer of 189.

proposed, he marched into Aetolia

but was met by Damoteles who in-

formed him that the Aetolians were willing to accept the

terms.<sup>2</sup> These events must have lasted through the summer,

for Ambracia did not surrender until the autumn equinox.

Moreover, the Aetolian strategos of 189 could not have been dispatched as an ambassador to Rome until the end of his term of office, which would be in the autumn.

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 29. 1-5-- "Οτι κατὰ τὸν καὶ πὸν τοῦτον...  
Livy xxxviii. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 30. 11-14.





While Fulvius was operating in Greece, Philip of Macedon sent ambassadors to the Senate  
 118. Philip's En-voys to Rome in the autumn of 189. to complain of his losses. The Aetolians had unjustly seized Athamania, Amphilochia, and Dolopia from him. He was, therefore, opposed to a peace for them.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the arrival of Philip's envoys at Rome, the Aetolians, Phaeneas and  
 119. The Aetolian legates to Rome in the autumn of 189. Nicander, appeared before the Senate in regard to the treaty. In order to be valid, the treaty had to have the approval of the Roman people.<sup>2</sup> The Romans were ill-disposed to the Aetolians because of the complaints of Philip's embassy (Embassy 118) and paid little heed to the Aetolian legation.

The Roman Senate did listen, however, to the Athenian envoy, Leon, who urged  
 120. The Athenian ambassador to Rome in the autumn of 189. peace on the ground that the war did not break out because of the Aetolians.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xxi. 3. 1-4-- κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους as the Aetolian embassy; Livy (P) xxxviii. 10. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xxi. 30. 15-31. 2; Livy (P) xxxviii. 10. 3-6; 11. 1-9.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 31. 10; Livy xxxviii. 10. 4.



The Senate also heard an embassy from Rhodes, which also pleaded for peace for the  
 121. The Rhodian embassy to Rome in Aetolians.<sup>1</sup> These various embassies the autumn of 189. which came to Rome in the autumn of 189 were accompanied by C. Valerius Laevinus, brother and legatus of the consul, Fulvius.<sup>2</sup>

The Aetolians finally received peace terms.<sup>3</sup> The Senate passed a consultum which the people ratified. The Aetolians would preserve the majesty of Rome, would have the same friends and allies as Rome, would not permit forces against Rome to go through their territory, would wage war on whomever Rome did, would surrender deserters, prisoners, and fugitives to Rome and her allies within six months, would pay 200 Euboic talents to the consul in Greece and 300 more over a period of six years to Rome. Thus, the Aetolians, who had been the first of the Greeks to have an alliance with Rome, were now the first to submit to Rome.<sup>4</sup>

While Rome was settling matters with the Aetolians, trouble arose in Sparta. The Spartans were attacking cities in which exiles lived. These cities, therefore, sent envoys

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 10. 2-6.

<sup>2</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 10. 2; 9. 8. This embassy is not numbered, for it was not dispatched by the Senate.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 29. 1 - 30. 1. 6; Livy (P) xxxviii. 8. 8 - 10. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Polybius xxi. 30. 1-9; 32.





to the Achaeans, whose strategos, Philopoemon, issued a  
 decree stating that the  
 124. Embassies from the Spartans had to deliver those  
 Spartan cities to the Ach- who were guilty. As a result  
 aeans in the autumn of 189. of this decree, the Spartans murdered thirty Achaeans and  
 thus broke their alliance.

Because of their conflict with the Achaeans, the  
 Spartans sent envoys to the Roman  
 125. The Spartan en-voys to Fulvius in consul to announce the surrender of  
 voys to Fulvius in the autumn of 189. their city to Rome and to ask him to  
 settle their dispute with the Achaeans.

The Achaeans were ready for war. But, when Fulvius  
 came to the Peloponnese and heard both sides, he stopped  
 hostilities for the time by advising both the Achaeans and  
 Spartans to send ambassadors to Rome.

After his intervention in the Peloponnese, Fulvius  
 returned to Rome for the annual elections, which took place  
 about November. After this, he went once more to Greece to  
 complete the siege of Same which he had begun in the autumn  
 of the year, 189.<sup>1</sup>

The visit of Fulvius to Rome has caused some confusion,  
 because it occurred in the same winter as his visit to the  
 Peloponnese.<sup>2</sup> A Polybian passage in Livy places the visit

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 29. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxviii. 35. 1--quia iam in exitu annus erat....

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AUTHOR  
SUBJECT

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early attempts to explain the phenomena of life, and then proceeds to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The author's own views are stated in a clear and concise manner, and are supported by a wealth of facts and figures. The second part of the book is devoted to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The author's own views are stated in a clear and concise manner, and are supported by a wealth of facts and figures.

2. The second part of the book is devoted to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The author's own views are stated in a clear and concise manner, and are supported by a wealth of facts and figures.

3. The third part of the book is devoted to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The author's own views are stated in a clear and concise manner, and are supported by a wealth of facts and figures.

to the Peloponnese after the fall of Same, which did not happen until the early part of 188.<sup>1</sup> A letter written by the consul for 188, C. Livius Salinator, refers to the siege of Same and shows that Fulvius returned from Rome to complete it after he had presided over the elections at Rome.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of 189, Rome was at peace with Antiochus.

124. The Roman embassy to the East at the end of 189. She had now brought to a close her second major struggle in the East. The ten commissioners whom the Senate dispatched were to cooperate with the proconsul Manlius in seeing that the terms of the treaty were properly executed, as the ten had done in 196 in regard to the peace with Philip of Macedon.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxxviii. 30. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxvii. 50. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xxi. 42 for the treaty with Antiochus; 43. 1-2--after the ratification, Cn. Manlius, the proconsul and one of the ten commissioners went to Syria to exact an oath from the King. See 22. 4-8; 24. 6-15; 41. 6-10; Livy (P) xxxviii. 12. 1.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket of the car. I shivered slightly, but then I remembered that this was just the beginning. The air was crisp and clean, a welcome change from the stuffy interior of the car. I took a deep breath, feeling the cool air fill my lungs. It was a refreshing experience, one that I had never before. I smiled to myself, knowing that this was just the start of a new journey.

I walked towards the entrance of the building, my steps firm and confident. The door was open, and I stepped inside. The interior was dimly lit, with a warm glow emanating from the fireplace. I walked towards the fireplace, feeling a sense of comfort and warmth. I sat down on the sofa, looking at the fire. It was a small fire, but it was enough to keep me warm. I closed my eyes, feeling the heat of the fire on my face. It was a peaceful moment, one that I had never before.

I opened my eyes, looking at the fire. It was still there, but it was different. It was a different fire, one that I had never before. I smiled to myself, knowing that this was just the start of a new journey. I stood up, walking towards the door. I opened the door, looking out into the night. The air was cold, but it was a cold that I had never before. I smiled to myself, knowing that this was just the start of a new journey.

I walked back into the building, my steps firm and confident. The door was open, and I stepped inside. The interior was dimly lit, with a warm glow emanating from the fireplace. I walked towards the fireplace, feeling a sense of comfort and warmth. I sat down on the sofa, looking at the fire. It was a small fire, but it was enough to keep me warm. I closed my eyes, feeling the heat of the fire on my face. It was a peaceful moment, one that I had never before.



## CONCLUSION

The period, 201-189 B. C., was, as has been seen above, very eventful in the history of Greece and Italy. Therefore, I have given a chronological picture of the diplomatic activities which took place between Rome and the states of the East and among the eastern states themselves.

The following observations can be made from the above study of these diplomatic exchanges:

1. The Number of Times the States Sent Embassies.

The Aetolian League had sent during this time the greatest number, a total of twenty-six, which was twenty per cent of all the embassies which were dispatched from Rome to the East, from the East to Rome, and among the Greek states within the given period.

Rome was second, having sent fourteen legations besides those which were sent by the individual consuls. Athens, suffering from Macedonian aggression, sent thirteen to Rome and the other Greek states.

Syria and Macedonia, whose monarchs were bent on conquest, sent eleven and ten respectively.

The first of these is the fact that the  
country is not a homogeneous one, but is  
divided into two distinct parts, the  
north and the south, each of which has  
its own peculiar characteristics and  
its own history. The north is more  
developed and more civilized than the  
south, and has a more advanced  
state of civilization.

The History of the North and South

The history of the north and south is  
very different. The north has a long  
and glorious history, and has been  
the seat of many great empires and  
kingdoms. The south, on the other  
hand, has a very short and obscure  
history, and has been the seat of  
many small and weak states.

The north has a long and glorious  
history, and has been the seat of  
many great empires and kingdoms.  
The south, on the other hand, has  
a very short and obscure history,  
and has been the seat of many  
small and weak states.

The north has a long and glorious  
history, and has been the seat of  
many great empires and kingdoms.  
The south, on the other hand, has  
a very short and obscure history,  
and has been the seat of many  
small and weak states.

The Achaean League followed with nine, while Rhodes and Pergamum, the first of the Greek states to declare war on Macedonia in 201, sent seven and eight respectively.

Both Athamania and the Boeotian League, fearing to take any active part in political or military affairs, sent five each only to seek protection and aid. Sparta dispatched four; Epirus and Lampsacus, three each.

Other states, such as Acarnania, Egypt, and Smyrna, which were not too active in diplomatic circles, sent only two each. A few states sent only one embassy, namely, Chalcis, Massilia, Phocaea, Plataea, and Elis.

Such numbers illustrate which states were most often involved in diplomatic circles; which needed aid or protection most frequently, or which were offering their services to other states.

## 2. The Number of Personnel Participating in the Embassies.

The number varied from one to ten, depending upon the importance of the state's mission and upon the contacts which the government wished its envoys to make.

Embassies 50 and 124 had ten ambassadors each. These embassies were to execute peace terms

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with Philip of Macedonia and Antiochus of Syria.

### 3. Method of Selecting Legates.

Usually, for the missions, men were chosen both in the Greek states and Rome on the basis of their past importance in public and military affairs. For instance, the Aetolian League sent strategi, such as Alexamenus, Phaeneas; the Achaean League, Aristaenus, while from other states even kings themselves were on the legations, namely, Amynder of Athamania and Attalus of Pergamum.

In Rome, ex-consuls, like P. Sulpicius Galba and P. Villius Tappulus or figures who have had some prestige in government affairs, such as C. Livius, Cn. Octavius, were appointed. Therefore, it is evident that these embassies were of utmost significance in affairs of the various governments.

### 4. The Reasons for Dispatching the Embassies.

Sometimes, the reasons or motives for dispatching the embassies were obvious, but more often the real reasons were latent, while the legates were instructed to give other reasons for their visits to the states. Frequently, the envoys were instructed to visit states and to try to learn their reaction or what course they might take in events. More obvious motives were to seek peace, to ask for



aid against some state, or protection against an aggressor state.

From the above text and appendices, therefore, we can note the number of envoys on the missions, their motives, instructions and duties.

Rejected embassies are tabulated in Appendix I with a discussion as to why they have no place in the chronological scheme; although they have been included in ancient sources. Secondary source references are given in connection with this.

The workings of the diplomatic relations between Rome and the East or within the East itself have been presented in chronological order to give a clear picture of conditions in that time--a time which showed Rome's turning <sup>rn/</sup> from a War in the West to a period of conquest in the East and to two wars there with Macedonia and Syria. We can also see how she intervened in affairs there to her advantage; how she was able to overcome such forces as Philip and Antiochus. Rome intervened overtly for the defense of the Greek states; but latently for her own commercial and imperialistic advantages. The Macedonian purpose is the desire to be master of the Greek world, Antiochus', the interest in regaining his ancestors' territory regardless of the cost or means. Each state had selfish motives in sending its embassies--it was only a human practice.





The chronological arrangement of the whole collection of the diplomatic exchanges which took place between Rome and the Greek states or among the Greek states themselves, therefore, gives a clear-cut picture not only of the embassies but also of the political and historical scheme of events in a very important and troubled era in the Greek and Roman worlds.



## APPENDIX I

In this Appendix, I shall enumerate and discuss embassies which should be rejected although they may be mentioned in some source material. According to Livy, an

1. Athenian embassy to Rome in the autumn of 201.	Athenian embassy ( <u>preces Atheniensium</u> ) reported Philip's aggression to the Senate at Rome in the autumn of 201.
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He states that the purpose of the Athenian embassy was to report that Philip had devastated the Athenian fields and had entered the city of Athens.<sup>1</sup>

In order for this embassy to have brought such a report at the given date, Philip would have had to invade Attica before the autumn of 201. Yet, his first act of hostility against the Athenians was his aid in the Acarnanian invasion of Attica in the spring of 200. The Macedonian king had been forced to spend the winter of 201-200 at Bargylia in Asia Minor by a Rhodian and Pergamene blockade; and, therefore, he could not have planned an invasion of Attica until he had returned from Asia at the end

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 1. 10--quos agro pervastato in urbem compulerat. See Appian Maced. 4. 2; Florus I. 23. 7. 4-5. Polybius does not mention this appeal.

CHAPTER I

THE first object of this work is to show that the  
principles of the theory of numbers are not  
independent of the principles of the theory of sets.  
In the first chapter we shall show that the  
principles of the theory of numbers are not  
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In the sixth chapter we shall show that the  
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In the eighth chapter we shall show that the  
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In the ninth chapter we shall show that the  
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In the tenth chapter we shall show that the  
principles of the theory of numbers are not  
independent of the principles of the theory of sets.

THE first object of this work is to show that the  
principles of the theory of numbers are not  
independent of the principles of the theory of sets.



of the winter or the beginning of the spring of 200.<sup>1</sup> Livy disregards the fact that the Acarnanians may have sought Philip's aid between his return from Asia and the arrival of the Roman embassy in the spring of 200 at the Piraeus, the Athenian harbor.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the presence of the Roman embassy in Athens in the spring of 200 would be too soon after the Acarnanian invasion of 200 to be an answer to the Athenian embassy complaining of the same invasion.

When the Roman ambassadors arrived at Athens in the spring of 200, the people there did not welcome them, as they did the envoys of Pergamum and Rhodes who were at Athens at the same time.<sup>3</sup> If the Roman legati had come in answer to an Athenian appeal of 201, it would also have received a fine reception.<sup>4</sup>

Livy refers to this Athenian appeal as the cause of

<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 24. 1-3. G. De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, (Torino, 1917-23), IV, 1, 21; and Holleaux, "Le Prétendu Récours des Athéniens aux Romains en 201/200", REA XXII (1920), 77 and Rome, p. 276, n. 4 date the invasion in 200; while E. Bickermann, "Les Préliminaires de la Seconde Guerre de Macédoine", RP LXI (1935), 164, n. 3 dates it in the autumn of 201.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 25. 1-2; A. H. McDonald and F. W. Walbank, "The Origins of the Second Macedonian War", JRS XXVII, (1937), 191, n. 70.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xvi. 25. 203; 6; 26. 91

<sup>4</sup>Holleaux, REA, XXII (1930), 92-3, says that the Athenian attitude toward the Romans shows that no friendship existed between them. P. 89.

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the Roman declaration of war on Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> If the Athenians had sent an embassy and had given the Senate the pretext for war, they would have been specifically mentioned in the Roman ultimatum which the Roman ambassadors in Athens delivered to Philip's general, Nicanor, in the spring of 200. Nicanor at that time (καθ' ὃν χρόνον οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρόσβας) was ravaging Attica. Livy does not speak of Nicanor, since he does not mention the presence of the Roman legati in Athens. This ultimatum preceded the formal declaration of war. Yet, Athens had no place in this communication.<sup>2</sup>

While the Roman legati were in Athens, an Athenian assembly met to discuss the question of Athens' joining in the war against Philip. Attalus, the King of Pergamum, sent a letter to this meeting in which he urged the Athenians to declare war on Macedonia. The Rhodian embassy also urged them. But the Romans had no part in the assembly. It would not have been necessary to urge them if they already had a grievance against Philip and had complained of it at Rome.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, (Berlin, 1881), III, 129, 132 believes that the Senate wanted war, as does G. Colin, Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 av. JC; (Paris, 1905) pp. 66-8.

<sup>2</sup>Polybius xvi. 27. 2 speaks of the Greek states in general-- Ῥωμαῖοι παρακαλοῦσι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων μηδεὶς πολέμειν.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius xvi. 26.





In the formal declaration of war, which M. Aemilius Lepidus, one of the three Roman envoys to the East, delivered to Philip himself, after he ignored the Roman ultimatum which his general had received, the Athenians had no special place. The Roman legate warned Philip to keep his hands off of all Greeks, Egypt, Rhodes, and Pergamum. He spoke of the Athenians but once and that was in answering Philip's argument that Rhodes had been the aggressor. In referring to the Athenians, Lepidus was no more incensed because of the wrongs which they had suffered than because of those which the Carians and Abydenes had undergone. In the declaration the Romans asked that Philip give reparation to Pergamum and Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> The Romans would certainly have made demands in behalf of the Athenians, if there had been an Athenian legation to Rome in 201.

Some historians, who, following Livy,<sup>2</sup> <sup>and</sup> accept this embassy, base it on the Treaty of Phoinike which brought to an end the First Macedonian War in 205. In his statement

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<sup>1</sup>Polybius xvi. 34. 3-5--τὰ τελευτότατα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ τοῦ Περσέως ἀδικήματα--why not also τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων?

<sup>2</sup>De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 32, n. 65 follows Livy. Colin, op. cit., pp. 66-8; Mommsen, op. cit., I, 700-1; and Bickermann, op. cit., p. 161 all feel that this embassy gave the Senate the pretext for war and defend this belief.



of the treaty Livy includes Athens as one of the adscripti,<sup>1</sup> that is, one of the allies of Rome, one of the parties contracting the treaty. In this treaty Macedonia and Rome agreed not to harm mutual friends or allies; that is, the adscripti. If Athens had been in the treaty as a Roman ally, Philip would not have undertaken the invasion; for he could not have wanted war with Rome. He was anxious to keep her away from the East.

It is, moreover, improbable that Rome would have taken Athens as an ally in the treaty, since in the First Macedonian War Athens had tried to reconcile the Aetolian League, which had been a Roman ally since 212, with Philip. The Aetolians had kept Macedonia involved in the East so that Rome could concentrate all her efforts against Carthage. Athens actually feared Macedonian power, but by trying to make peace between the Aetolian League and Philip, was acting against the Romans. Thus, Athens could not have been a Roman ally; and it was not binding on the Romans to

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<sup>1</sup>Livy (P) xxix. 12. 14--adscripti Prusia...Athenienses. De Sanctis, op. cit., III, 2, 436-9 accepts Livy's text as it stands. See E. Täubler, Imperium Romanum, (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), I, 214; B. Niese, Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia, (Gotha, 1893-1908), II, 502, n. 4; and J. A. O. Larsen, "The Peace of Phoinike and the Outbreak of the Second Macedonian War", Classical Philology, XXXII, (1937), 15-31, who reject the inclusion of Athens. F. W. Walbank, Philip V of Macedon, (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 103-4 and Holleaux, Rome, pp. 267-9 also argue against the inclusion of Athens.







aid her.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Philip invaded Athens and that the Senate failed to mention Athens in the ultimatum and the declaration of war make it unlikely that Athens was an ally. It is more probable that the inclusion of Athens among the adscripti on the Roman side is an annalistic addition, and, therefore, that the Athenian embassy to Rome in the autumn of 201 is an annalistic error.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, this embassy has been confused either with an Athenian deputation (Embassy 7 ) which met the Roman commander in the East in the autumn of 200, after the Senate had declared war on Macedonia; or with an Athenian appeal which came indirectly to Rome in the summer of 200 through an Egyptian embassy (Embassy 6 ).

The annals, as seen in Livy, state that the Athenians

<sup>1</sup>Holleaux, REA XXII, (1920), 95-6; T. Walek-Czernecki, "Les Origines de la Seconde Macédonienne Guerre", Eos, XXXI (1928), 374-5.

<sup>2</sup>Holleaux REA XXII (1920), 82, n. 2 states that Athens had no complaint as yet; p. 87--if the embassy took place, it had no influence on the Senate and, therefore, is unreal. Holleaux, "Rome and Macedon", CAH VIII (1930), 161, n. 2 argues that, because of the unreality of the embassy, Livy omits reference to the presence of the Roman legati in Athens.

and young and many others, and many more.

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made a second appeal to Rome in the spring of 200 (nova legatio.)<sup>1</sup> This time the Athenians are said to have reported that Philip was approaching their city and would soon have possession of it, unless they received aid from Rome.<sup>2</sup>

This embassy is an annalistic error because of its content and the date assigned to it.<sup>3</sup> The invasion referred to in the annals was most probably that of the Acarnanians and Philip. This could not, however, have occurred before Philip's return from Asia, which was not until the early spring of 200.

Furthermore, the Roman ambassadors were at Athens

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxi. 5. 5-6. This embassy does not appear in Polybius. Appian Mac. 4. 2 mentions only one Athenian appeal. For the date, see De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 368 and Holleaux, "L'Election au Consulat de P. Sulpicius", Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, LVI (1932), 531. Livy dates it on the Ides of March (xxx. 5. 2) at the time that the letters came from M. Aurelius legatus and M. Valerius Laevinus the propraetor. (omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis)....(5. 5) et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laevino propraetore adlatae et Atheniensium nova legatio venit.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 5. 5-6--quae regem appropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, brevique non agros modo, sed urbem etiam in ditione eius futuram, nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret.

Livy is confused, for in his discussion of the first embassy from Athens (Embassy 1), Philip had already invaded Athenian territory--xxx. 1. 10--quos agro pervastato in urbem compulerat, excitaverunt ad renovandum bellum.

<sup>3</sup>Holleaux, Rome, p. 271, n. 1; Walbank, op. cit., p. 312; Holleaux REA, XXII (1920), 77, 95-6; Larsen, op. cit., pp. 22-5; De Sanctis, op. cit., IV, 1, 32, n. 65.





in the spring of 200; their arrival was too soon after the raid to be in answer to an appeal reporting the invasion. This nova legatio would have been in Rome at the same time that the Romans were in Athens. Livy omits the visit of the Romans to Athens and so avoids confusion in his chronology.

The second alleged embassy from Athens to Rome has, without doubt, been confused either with the Egyptian report of the Athenian situation in the summer of 200 (Embassy 6), or with the deputation sent to the Roman consul in Macedonia in the autumn of that year. The deputation of the autumn (Embassy 7) was the only Athenian appeal to Rome against Philip and the Acarnanians.

The annals, as in Livy, have invented a Pergamene embassy, dispatched to Rome in the spring of 198.<sup>1</sup> The instructions credited to this embassy were to ask the Senate for aid against Syria, or for permission to remove Pergamene forces from Greece in order that Pergamum might defend itself. Attalus could not continue to aid Rome in the Second Macedonian War while his own kingdom was in danger, unless Rome sent some assistance.

The date for this embassy is given as after the Ides of March; in other words, after the new consuls took office, but before T. Quinctius Flaminius, one of the consuls-elect,

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 172, *infra*. This section contradicts Livy xxxi. 47. 2.



left Rome to assume his duties in the province of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the invasion which the envoys of Pergamum reported would have been in the early spring of 198. Yet, it could not have occurred then, since Attalus was in Greece at that time, and he would not have remained there, if his kingdom had been attacked. Furthermore, the invasion could not have taken place earlier in 198, for in that winter, Attalus was in Pergamum and would have provided defense for it at once.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, even if the invasion happened in the spring of 198, Attalus would not have waited for the Senate's permission to withdraw his forces from Greece. And, the invasion could not have occurred in 199, because Antiochus was in the midst of the Fifth Syrian War, which was not over until the summer of 198.<sup>3</sup> If it had been in 199, Attalus would not have delayed his appeal for aid or for the privilege to take his troops from Greece until 198.

According to the annalistic tradition, the Senate was pleased with the aid which Pergamum had rendered in the

<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxii. 8. 4--sortiti consules provincias; Diodorus 28. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxi. 47. 2--Attalus leaves Greece--secundum initia et ipse in Asiam se recepit. See Holleaux, "La Chronologie de la Cinquième Guerre de Syrie", Klio, VIII (1908) 279-281.

<sup>3</sup>Livy (P) xxxi. 43. 5. Here, Scopas is recruiting in Aetolia to aid Egypt against Syria in the autumn of 199. Livy (P) xxxiii. 19. 8--priore aestate refers to the summer before the battle of Cynoscephalae which was in 197.

1. (continued) The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been

admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education since the

last report of the Board of Education to the Legislature, 1897-98.

2. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been

admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education since the

last report of the Board of Education to the Legislature, 1897-98.

3. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been

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past, but stated that Rome could not now help Pergamum against Antiochus, because he was a Roman ally and friend (socius et amicus). Furthermore, since 200, friendly relations between Syria and Rome had prevailed. It is clear that Rome needed Syrian neutrality against Macedonia; and could not afford to offend Antiochus even for Pergamum, who was a worthy ally.

The Senate, however, according to annalistic tradition, promised to send an embassy to Antiochus in behalf of Pergamum to emphasize the benefits which that state had furnished to Syria as well as to Rome and her allies by opposing Philip, the common enemy of Rome and Syria. The legation would also ask Antiochus not to attack Pergamum since it was a Roman ally.<sup>1</sup> It seems strange that an embassy should find it necessary to inform Antiochus of Pergamum's position in the war against Philip, since he must have been aware of it from 200, when the Roman ambassadors (Embassy 3) visited him to discuss the eastern situation. Therefore, it is unlikely that Antiochus attacked Pergamum in 198. Also, Antiochus would not have wished to keep Pergamum from opposing Philip. If Antiochus had attacked Pergamum in 198, Philip would have been rid of a foe who was with Rhodes the first to open hostilities (201-200) against him in the Second Macedonian War. Moreover,

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxii. 8. 12-18.



Antiochus, needing her neutrality in his war against Egypt as much as she needed his opposition to Macedonia, did not want to arouse Roman hostility any more than Rome, who needed Syrian neutrality in the war against Macedonia, wanted to arouse his. Since this alleged Pergamene embassy had no purpose at the time assigned, it should be rejected.<sup>1</sup>

Some time between the spring and summer of 198, the Senate is reported to have sent an embassy to Antiochus in fulfillment of its alleged promise made in the spring of 198 to the spurious Pergamene embassy. The only evidence of such a Roman embassy is in Livy's discussion of the second alleged Pergamene embassy to Rome in the summer of 198.<sup>2</sup>

If the first Pergamene embassy is fictitious, as we have argued above, this Roman embassy must also be rejected, the one being the result of the other.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Niese, *op. cit.*, II, 607, n. 4; Holleaux, *Klio*, VIII (1908) 279-280, calls this embassy ridiculous at the given date. The invasion may be confused with that of 197.

O. Leuze, "Die Feldzüge Antiochos des Grössen nach Kleinasien und Thrakien", *Hermes*, LVIII (1923) 187, however, accepts the embassy. He is confused in the chronology as to the time of Flaminius' arrival in Greece and the naval campaigns of the combined fleets of Rome, Rhodes, and Pergamum.

<sup>2</sup>Livy xxxii. 27. 1--eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo....

<sup>3</sup>Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Niese, *op. cit.*, II, 607, n. 4; Holleaux, *Klio* VIII (1908) 279-81.





Livy gives an account of a second Pergamene legation for the summer of 198. Its task  
 5. The Second Pergamene Embassy to Rome in the summer of 198. was to thank the Senate for having sent an embassy to Antiochus in behalf of Pergamum, and for having removed the danger of further attack by him.<sup>1</sup>

The rejection of this embassy results from that of the first alleged Pergamene embassy to Rome and the Roman embassy to Syria.

According to Livy, an embassy came from Antiochus to Rome at the end of the  
 6. The Syrian Embassy to Rome at the end of winter or beginning of spring, 196. winter or the beginning of the spring of 196.

In his discussion of this embassy and its instructions, Livy's main subject is the Syrian embassy of 198-7 (Embassy 28). If the embassy came to Rome in 196, the Senate would not have been hesitant concerning the outcome of the Second Macedonian War. The outcome would have been obvious, since it would have been several months after the battle of Cynoscephalae, a decisive victory for Rome.

Livy assigns to Philip an embassy which came to the

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxii. 27. 2--eadem aestate.

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Senate in the early winter of 191.<sup>1</sup> He states that its purpose was to offer Rome money, forces, 7. The Macedonian Embassy to Rome in the winter of 191. and supplies; but the Senate rejected the offer.

This legation seems to be an annalistic invention, since it is hardly possible that the Senate would have turned down such aid, which would have been most advantageous against Antiochus and the Aetolians.

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<sup>1</sup>Livy xxxvi. 3. 14--Brundisium idibus Maiis convenirent. ipse ante diem quintum nonas Maias.... 4. 1--sub idem tempus legati ab duobus regibus, Philippo et Ptolemaeo.





## APPENDIX II

The Number of Members Comprising the Embassies.

The number of members in the embassies varied from one to ten, according to the importance of the mission. For example, embassies which went to execute the peace terms with Philip in 196 (Embassy 50) and with Antiochus in 189 (Embassy 124) had ten men.

One Man Embassies:-<sup>1</sup>

1. From Rome to Greece.

Embassies 82, 95, 96.

2. From Greece to Rome.

Embassies 23, 25, 26, 27, 35, 36, 53, 78, 97, 110, 117, 120.

3. From Greek states to other Greek states.

Embassies 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 54, 57, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 84.

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<sup>1</sup>Sometimes only one name is mentioned in connection with an embassy, however, it is possible that there were other envoys, but that the one named was the leader. For example, although Polybius mentions only one man in Embassy 3, Livy furnishes the other two names, since that embassy had three members. Polybius sometimes mentions only the leader or the envoy playing an important role, as M. Aemilius Lepidus in Embassy 3. See Th. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht, II, (Leipzig, 1877) 664.



## Two Men:-

1. From Greece to Rome.  
Embassies 34, 51, 52, 105, 119.
2. From Greek to Greek states.  
Embassies 20, 21, 33, 49, 85.

## Three Men:-

1. From Rome to Greece.  
Embassies 3, 67.
2. From Greece to Rome.  
Embassies 34, 48, 62.
3. From Greek to Greek states.  
Embassy 62.

## Four Men:-

1. From Rome to Greece.  
Embassy 70.
2. From Greek states to Greek states.  
Embassy 22.

## Five Men:-

1. From Greece to Rome.  
Embassy 109.

Seven Man:-<sup>1</sup>

1. From Greece to Rome.  
Embassy 24.

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<sup>1</sup>No examples of a six man embassy.





Ten Men:-<sup>1</sup>

1. From Rome to Greece.

Embassies 50, 124.

Embassies which have not been tabulated were composed of more than one member, but we do not know the exact number. Livy refers to such as legati and Polybius πρόσβητες.

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<sup>1</sup>There are no examples of embassies of eight or nine men.

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## APPENDIX III

Roman Personnel and Their Positions Prior to Their Diplomatic Missions.

P. Aelius (Embassy 67), augur in 208, plebeian aedile in 204, praetor in 203, magister equitum in 202, consul in 201, decemvir in 200, censor in 199. P-W 101.<sup>1</sup>

M. Aemilius Lepidus (Embassy 3). P-W 68.

M. Aurelius Cotta, consular ambassador in 189.

198. L. Calpurnius Piso, consular envoy to the Achaeans in P-W 13.

Appius Claudius Nero, legate under Flamininus in Greece in 197-6, praetor in 195, ambassador on the commission of ten in 189 (Embassy 124), which was to regulate the peace with Antiochus. P-W 245.

C. Claudius Nero (Embassy 3), served under Marcellus in 214, praetor in 212, propraeitor in Spain in 211, legatus under Marcellus in 209, consul in 207, censor in 204. P-W 246.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Embassy 50), military tribune at Cannae in 216, quaestor in 212, curule aedile in 205, consul in 201, triumvir in 199. P-W 176.

L. Cornelius Lentulus (Embassy 50), served under P. Scipio in Spain in 206, curule aedile in 205, consul in 199. P-W 188.

Q. Fabius Buteo, legatus of Flamininus. P-W 31, 57.

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<sup>1</sup>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.  
This reference work is used because of its encyclopedic arrangement of figures in the Roman and Greek worlds. It is in alphabetical order with references to ancient authors where the material can be checked for further detail. n/





T. Quinctius Flaminius (Embassy 70), military tribune in 208, consul in 198, proconsul in 194, proconsul in Greece in 192.<sup>1</sup>

Q. Fulvius Flaccus, under Flaminius. P-W 60.

L. Furius Purpurio, consular ambassador to the Aetolians in 199. P-W 87.

P. Lentulus Caudinus<sup>2</sup> (Embassy 50), legate of P. Scipio to Spain in 210, praetor in 203, one of the ten commissioners to Greece in 196.

C. Livius (Embassy 96), in the college of pontiffs in 211, curule aedile in 204, praetor in 202, commander of the Roman fleet in 199-8 and in 191. P-W 29.

Cn. Octavius (Embassy 70), military tribune in 216, curule aedile in 214, praetor in 213, plebeian aedile in 206, praetor in 205, propraeor in 204-3, in the battle of Zama in 202, propraeor of Scipio's fleet in 202, ambassador to Affica in 200, triumvir in 194 on the question of the colonists in Croton. P-W 16.

M. Porcius Cato<sup>3</sup> (Embassy 82), quaestor in 204, proconsul in 204, praetor in 198, consul in 195.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (Embassy 95). P-W 53.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus (Embassy 3), military tribune in 216 at Cannae, curule aedile in 214, praetor in 213, propraeor in 212-1, censor in 209, proconsul in Illyria in 205, author of peace which ended the First Macedonian War, consul in 204. P-W 96.

Cn. Servilius Caepio (Embassy 70), pontifex in 213, curule aedile in 207, urban praetor in 205, consul in 203, ambassador to Carthage in 195. P-W 44.

<sup>1</sup>P. Willems, Le Sénat de la République Romaine (Paris, 1878) II, 309.

<sup>2</sup>K. W. Drumann, Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergang von der Republikanischen zur Monarchischen Verfassung (Königsberg, 1835) II, 527, no. 9 under Lentuli.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 97, no. 12 under Porcii.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem. It is shown that the problem is well-posed and that the solution exists and is unique. The second part of the paper is devoted to the construction of the solution. It is shown that the solution can be constructed by the method of successive approximations. The third part of the paper is devoted to the numerical solution of the problem. It is shown that the numerical solution can be obtained by the method of finite differences. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to the stability of the solution. It is shown that the solution is stable with respect to the initial conditions and the data of the problem. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to the conclusion. It is shown that the problem is solved.

L. Stertinius (Embassy 50).

P-W 5.

P. Sulpicius Galba (Embassy 67), consul in 211, proconsul from 211 to 206, dictator for holding comitia in 203, consul in 200 for the second time, remained as legatus in the East until 196.

P-W 64.

L. Terentius (Massaliota), (Embassy 50), plebeian aedile in 200, commissioner to the East in 196.

P-W 58.

G. Valerius Laevinus, consular ambassador in 189.

P. Villius Tappulus (Embassies 50, 67, 70), consul in 199, commissioner to Greece in 196.

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## APPENDIX IV

Greek Personnel and Their Positions Prior to Their Diplomatic Missions.

Acesimbrotus (Embassy 19), Rhodian Nauarch in the First Macedonian War. P-W.

Alexamenus (Embassy 76), Aetolian strategos in 197-6. P-W 1.

Alexander the Aetolian (Embassies 24, 36, 58, 109), outstanding in Aetolian politics as an ambassador and speaker. P-W 32.

Alexander of Pergamum (Embassy 26). P-W 33.

Alypus of Ambracia (Embassy 109), on behalf of the Aetolians to Rome in 189. P-W 2.

Amynander, King of Athamania, (Embassies 17, 35), intermediary in 208 during the First Macedonian War between Philip of Macedon and the Aetolians, went on diplomatic missions himself. P-W 2.

Androcles the Acarnanian (Embassy 33), to the Acarnanian assembly at Leucas. P-W 5.

Apollodorus of Lampsacus (Embassy 48).

Apollodorus of Macedon (Embassy 22), secretary of Philip. P-W 45.

Archidamus (Embassy 80), son of Pantaleon, leader of the Aetolians. P-W 7.

Aristaenus of Megalopolis (Embassy 59), Achaean strategos in 198, 195, conferred with the Boeotians in 197 to arrange for an alliance with Rome. P-W 2.

Attalus II Philadelphus, son of Attalus I Soter, (Embassy 78), commander in Pergamum against Antiochus of Syria while his brother, Eumenes, was king. P-W 10.



Attalus I Soter, King of Pergamum from 241 to 197, (Embassy 29), bought Aegina from the Aetolians in 211-210, opposed Philip in 201 with the aid of Rhodes and Byzantium, sent embassy to Rome in 201, in 200 met the Roman legati (Embassy 3) at the Piraeus. P-W 9.

Brachylles the Boeotian (Embassy 22), friend of Philip of Macedon, pro-Macedonian leader in Boeotia. P-W.

Callistratus of Elis (Embassy 84).

Cephisodorus (Embassy 27), Athenian statesman, brought about the alliance of Athens with Pergamum, Egypt, Rhodes, Crete, and the Aetolian League. P-W 3.

Chalepus (Embassy 109), Aetolian.

Charops of Epirus (Embassy 83).

Cleomedon, Macedonian, (Embassy 15).

Coeranus of Smyrna (Embassy 53).

Cycliadas (Embassies 22, 34), Achaean strategos in 209, in 200 for the second time, went into exile during the time of Aristaenus in 198, supported Macedonia. P-W .

Damocritus of Calydon (Embassies 24, 64), Aetolian strategos in 200-199, in 193-2. P-W 1.

Damoteles the Aetolian (Embassy 117).

Damoxenus the Achaean (Embassy 38).

Demosthenes of Macedonia (Embassies 22, 34).

Dicaearchus of Plataea (Embassy 31).

Dicaearchus of Trichonium (Embassies 24, 68), the Aetolian, leader of Philip's fleet at Chios in 201. P-W 1.

Diocles (Embassy 77), the Aetolian.

Dionysodorus (Embassy 18), leader of the Pergamene fleet at Chios in 201. P-W 2.

Dorimachus of Trichonium (Embassy 54), Aetolian in 204. P-W.

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Echedemus of Acarnania (Embassy 33).

Echedemus the Athenian (Embassy 92). P-W 2.

Hegesianax (Embassies 49, 51, 62), from Alexandria Troas, friend of Antiochus, proxenos of Delphi in the first half of 193. P-W 1.

Hegesias of Smyrna (Embassy 48). P-W 10.

Heracleides (Embassy 97), from Byzantium, had a high standing with Antiochus. P-W 31.

Lamius of Ambracia (Embassy 24), in behalf of the Aetolians to Rome.

Leon the Athenian (Embassy 120), for the Aetolians.

Limmaeus the Macedonian (Embassy 34). P-W 3.

Lycopus the Aetolian (Embassy 109).

Lysias (Embassies 49, 51, 62), intimate with Antiochus, name for dealings with Rome in behalf of the King. P-W10.

Menippus (Embassies 62, 73), a Macedonian in the court of Antiochus. P-W 6.

Micythio of Chalcis (Embassy 81).

Nicander (Embassies 65, 85, 119), Aetolian Hipparch in 194, strategos in 190-189. P-W 4.

Nicomachus the Acarnanian (Embassy 24).

Nicostratus (Embassy 30), Achaean strategos in 198-7. P-W 13.

Parmenio of Lampsacus (Embassy 52).

Phaeneas (Embassies 21, 36, 85, 109, 119), Aetolian statesman, strategos in 198-7. P-W

Pisistratus the Boeotian (Embassy 40), pro-Roman.

Polemarchus of Arsinoe (Embassy 24), in behalf of the Aetolians to Rome.

Pyrrhias the Aetolian (Embassy 11).



Pythodorus of Lampsacus (Embassy 62).

Theodotus of Pherae (Embassy 24), to Rome for the Aetolians.

Thoas (Embassies 71, 75, 79, 85), Aetolian strategos in 203-2 and 194-3. P-W 8.

Xenophon of Aegae (Embassy 25) in behalf of the Achaeans to Rome.

Zeuxippus the Boeotian (Embassy 40), pro-Roman.





## APPENDIX V

Reasons For Which the Embassies of 201-189 B. C. Were Dispatched Together With Examples.

1. To see that terms of peace were properly executed:-

Embassy 50<sup>1</sup> was instructed by the Senate to see that the terms of the treaty which ended the Second Macedonian War were carried out. Embassy 124 was instructed to do the same in regard to the treaty with Antiochus.

2. To negotiate for peace terms:-<sup>2</sup>

Embassy 38 from Macedonia went to the Romans to discuss peace terms.

Embassy 34 also from Macedonia, asked the Roman consul for an armistice.

3. To establish friendly relations (amicitia) or an alliance:-

Embassy 3, the Roman embassy to the East in 200, went to Syria to establish friendship with that state.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This was a part of the commission of ten sent by the Senate to Greece in 196.

<sup>2</sup>See embassies 17-22, 54, 85, 99, 112, 113-117, 119, 121, 124, 109, and 110 started from the Aetolians for this purpose, but never reached their destinations.

<sup>3</sup>See embassies 46-47, 60, 85, 100, 101.



Embassies 55-56 from Antiochus sought an alliance from Flamininus.<sup>1</sup>

4. To assure a state of good-will and peaceful intentions toward its government:-<sup>2</sup>

Embassy 49 was sent by Antiochus to Flamininus to assure the consul that he had no plans against Rome.

5. To make promises, whether they were to be carried out or not, in order to gain some advantage:-<sup>3</sup>

Embassy 12 of Macedonia in 199 promised the Achaeans certain cities which Philip had seized, if they would not ally themselves with Rome.

6. To make inquiries or observations as to another state's actions:-<sup>4</sup>

Embassy 6 from Egypt to Rome was ostensibly to appeal against the Macedonian invasion of Attica, but actually to learn of Rome's plans in regard to the East.

Embassy 28 from Antiochus to Rome in 197 was to inquire as to the outcome of the Second Macedonian War and so to learn what Rome's position would be

<sup>1</sup>See embassies 15, 50, 70, 89, 90, 100-1.

<sup>2</sup>See 37, 62, 103.

<sup>3</sup>See 11, 32, 64, 65, 67, 68, 73, 79, 97.

<sup>4</sup>See 3, 63, 72, 95, 102, 104. Also the consular embassy to the Aetolians in 195.





concerning Syria.

7. To ask for aid or protection:-<sup>1</sup>

Embassy 7 the Athenian legation to the Roman consul in 200, sought aid against Macedonian aggression.

8. To congratulate a state on its success against another power:-<sup>2</sup>

Embassy 4 from Athens congratulated Attalus of Pergamum on his success against Philip.

9. To appeal in behalf of other states:-<sup>3</sup>

Embassy 44 from the Achaeans and 45 from the Athenians appealed to Flamininus in 196 in behalf of the Boeotians who had appealed to both.

Embassy 8, an Achaean embassy, asked Rhodes to remain at peace with Philip. There is no mention that Philip asked the Achaeans to do this, but, since they did go to Rhodes, it is not impossible that he appealed for Achaean mediation.

<sup>1</sup>See 1, 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 23-25, 35-6, 39, 41-3, 46, 48, 51, 58, 60, 66, 69, 71, 75-8, 80-1, 83-4, 85, 87-8, 96, 106, 111, 118, 122-3. Also the consular embassy to the Panaetolic in 199.

<sup>2</sup>See 87, 91, 104.

<sup>3</sup>See 10, 29-31, 33, 74, 92-4.

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Sources:- The works of Polybius and Livy were the main sources in this study. Because of the fact that there remain only fragments of Polybius' work, one must look to Livy for the filling in of the gaps. Livy, however, is not always reliable, since he drew in part from annalistic sources.

Polybius: Books xvi-xxii.

Livy (ed. Weissenborn-Mueller): Books xxxi-xxxviii.

Diodorus Siculus: fragments in Books xxvi-xxx.

Justinus: Books xxviii-xxxii.

Appian: fragments of Macedonica and Syriaca.

Pausanias: I. 36. 5-6.

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THE HISTORY OF

The early part of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. is described in the first volume of his "Practical Geology," which is now published in a new and improved edition, with many additions and corrections. The second volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1800 to the year 1860.

The third volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1860 to the year 1870.

The fourth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1870 to the year 1880.

The fifth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1880 to the year 1890.

The sixth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1890 to the year 1900.

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The eighth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1910 to the year 1920.

The ninth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1920 to the year 1930.

The tenth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1930 to the year 1940.

The eleventh volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1940 to the year 1950.

The twelfth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1950 to the year 1960.

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The thirteenth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1960 to the year 1970.

The fourteenth volume, which is now in the press, will contain the history of the life of the late Sir John Lubbock, Bart. from the year 1970 to the year 1980.



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
CHICAGO, ILL.

TO THE HONORABLE CHIEF OF BUREAU OF MINES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours very truly,

JOHN D. COOK  
Associate Professor of Chemistry

Enclosed for the Bureau of Mines are two copies of a report on the results of the experiments conducted at the University of Chicago during the past year.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours very truly,

JOHN D. COOK  
Associate Professor of Chemistry

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Yours very truly,

JOHN D. COOK  
Associate Professor of Chemistry

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1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all income and expenses, as this will be necessary for the preparation of the tax return.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all assets and liabilities. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all assets and liabilities, as this will be necessary for the preparation of the tax return.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all income and expenses. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all income and expenses, as this will be necessary for the preparation of the tax return.

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10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all assets and liabilities. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all assets and liabilities, as this will be necessary for the preparation of the tax return.



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1. The first part of the report is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country.

2. The second part contains a detailed account of the work done during the year.

3. The third part is a summary of the results of the work.

4. The fourth part contains a list of the names of the persons who have taken part in the work.

5. The fifth part is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees.

6. The sixth part is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees.

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11. The eleventh part is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees.

12. The twelfth part is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees.

13. The thirteenth part is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees.

## INDEX OF STATES SENDING EMBASSIES

Name of State:-	Embassy Number:-
Acarmania	33, 114
Achaean League	8, 20, 25, 30, 44, 59, 66, 69, 72
Aetolian League	11, 21, 24, 36, 54, 58, 64, 65, 68, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 85, 89, 99, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 117, 119
Athamania	17, 23, 35, 100, 101, 113
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Boeotian League	39, 40, 41, 42, 43
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Elis	84
Epirus	83, 86, 111
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Name of State:-	Embassy Number:-
Massilia	47
Pergamum	1, 13, 18, 26, 29, 78, 90, 102
Phocaea	98
Plataea	31
Rhodes	2, 14, 19, 32, 104, 116, 121
Rome	3, 50, 67, 70, 82, 95, 96, 124
Smyrna	53, 103.
Sparta	88, 122, 123, 143
Syria	28, 37, 49, 51, 55, 56, 62, 73, 80, 97, 105



### Abstract of a Dissertation

The period covered in this dissertation, 201-189 B. C., was of great importance in the history of the Greek and Roman worlds. Rome had just emerged the victor from the Second Punic War and was embarking on a period of conquest in the East. During these thirteen years she became embroiled in two wars, one with Philip of Macedon, who hoped to become the master of Greece, and the other with Antiochus of Syria, who wanted to regain his ancestors' territory in Asia Minor. Other states, such as the Aetolian League, the Achaean League, the Boeotian League, Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamum, Athens, Sparta, Athamania, and Acarnania, were involved in these wars on one side or another. Their leanings were obvious from the diplomatic exchanges which took place during that time.

Our interpretation of the events of this period depends for the most part on the fragments of the Histories of Polybius and on the annalistic narrative of Livy. These historians, in relating the foreign relations of Rome and the eastern states, lose sight of the original chronological relations between diplomatic manoeuvres, since they have drawn from vitiated sources. This is illustrated in Appendix I of the dissertation, which deals with embassies which I have rejected. The failure of these historians to present the diplomatic activities of the period in a chronological arrangement explains our inability to follow the chain of events which took place within the given





period.

Interest in this period has stimulated the writing of many studies which treat exclusively the relations between Rome and the Greek states or those among the Greek states themselves. In this dissertation, however, I include the embassies which were sent from 201 to 189 B. C.:-

1. from Rome to the eastern states
2. from the states in the East to Rome
3. among the eastern states themselves

I correlate these embassies in such a way that the original chronology of the diplomatic events becomes as clear as possible. I have assigned each embassy a number. In addition to these embassies, I include those which the Roman consuls themselves dispatched because of their relative importance in the chronology of the diplomatic workings of the Roman Senate and consuls. These consular legations are not numbered since they were not senatorial missions.

Although the legations sent by the Roman Senate to the East were of utmost importance, we lose sight of their real significance if we do not have a record of the eastern embassies sent in answer to them of of the Roman embassies dispatched in reply to those from the East. It is important to know that both Pergamum and Rhodes sent envoys to Rome in the autumn of 201 B. C. and that Rome sent legati to the East in the spring of 200 B. C. But, it is far more important to have records of both in their proper chronological order and to note how they

The author has endeavored to give a full and complete account of the history of the city of New York from its first settlement to the present time.

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worked in regard to each other.

Before I begin the discussion of the embassies, I devote one chapter, entitled Preliminaries to 201 B. C., to background material of the activities of the powers up to the opening date of my study, their resources, and their prestige. After this chapter, each year has its own chapter with the diplomatic exchanges which occurred during it. There are one hundred and twenty-four embassies in the main text besides seven consular legations.

In this study, I present (1) the given reasons for which embassies were sent; (2) the causes and motives underlying the given reasons; (3) the duties and instructions assigned to these embassies by their governments; (4) the personnel going on the missions and, in so far as is known, their personal histories, their official positions in their respective governments; their place in diplomatic circles; (5) the states to which they were dispatched and their activities there; (6) their success or failure with the other states; (7) their reports back to their own governments; (8) the immediate results of the embassies; and (9) their ultimate results.

There are five appendices in this study. The first deals with rejected embassies. I have rejected as annalistic inventions or additions seven embassies which are included in the sources. These, too, are arranged in chronological order with the information from the sources and my reasons for rejecting them. They do not fit into the chronological scheme;



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they crept into Livy's source material, because the disappearance of the chronological framework led to a confused interpretation of the motives which in its turn causes a further displacement of events. Secondary source references are given in connection with the discussion of these.

Appendix II treats of the number of ambassadors comprising the legations. These are listed with examples under each number of the embassies going from Rome to the East, from the eastern states to Rome, and among the eastern states.

Appendices III and IV include all the Roman and Greek personnel who took part in the embassies, their official positions in their states and the dates of such, and the numbers of the embassies on which they were sent.

Appendix V furnishes the reasons for which the states sent ambassadors with the examples of embassies under each.

This dissertation has an extensive bibliography of ancient sources and modern authorities in the field of Greek and Roman history and diplomacy. Inscriptions with pertinent material are also referred to. There are maps which bear every location mentioned throughout the study. An index gives the names of the states in alphabetical order with the number of each embassy sent by them in a separate column.

In the conclusion of the dissertation are the following observations which were made from the study of the diplomatic exchanges of the period:



### 1. The Number of Times the States Sent Embassies.

For example, the Aetolian League sent the greatest number during the period, Rome was second, Athens, third, while states like Acarnania, Egypt, and Smyrna, were not very active in diplomatic circles.

This, of course, illustrates which states were most often involved in diplomatic problems; which needed aid and protection most frequently; or which offered their services to other states.

### 2. The Number of Personnel in the Embassies.

The number varied from one to ten, depending on the importance of the mission and on the contacts which the governments wished their legates to make. An embassy of ten was sent to the East by the Roman Senate in 196 B. C. to execute the peace terms with Philip of Macedon; another was dispatched in 189 B. C. to carry out peace terms with Antiochus of Syria.

Sometimes, only one name is mentioned in connection with an embassy. Yet, it is possible that there were other envoys on it, but that the one named was the leader, since each mission had a leader. There were no six, eight, or nine-men embassies, the most common having been of three men.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better life. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom.

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### 3. The Method of Selecting the Personnel.

The ambassadors were selected on the basis of their past importance in their governments, in public and military affairs. Some states, such as the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, sent strategoi on the diplomatic missions, while from other states the kings themselves went on them, namely, King Attalus of Pergamum and King Amynderof Athamania.

In Rome, ex-consuls like P. Sulpicius Galba and P. Villius Tappulus were appointed legati to the East not only because of their prestige in governmental affairs but also because of their broad knowledge of eastern affairs. Both had served as commanders in Macedonia.

From such appointments, it is clear that the embassies were of great significance in the affairs of the various states.

### 4. The Reasons For Dispatching the Embassies.

Sometimes, the reasons and motives for sending the legates were obvious, but more often the real reasons were latent, while the ambassadors were instructed to give other reasons for their visits to states. Frequently, they were instructed to try to learn the reaction of the states which they visited or what course they might take in events.

This dissertation gives a clear picture of the

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diplomatic activities of the Roman Senate, the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, the Seleucid, Macedonian , and Egyptian Empires, and other Hellenistic states in an eventful period of ancient history--one of outstanding events during which two major wars were fought. It points out the selfish motives of the three greatest powers-- practices which were only human. Rome, who had posed as the defender of the Greek states in 200 B. C., developed her imperialistic and commercial policies and came to be looked upon as an aggressor in the East; Philip of Macedon was most anxious to be master of Greece, while Antiochus wanted to control Asia Minor.

Such a chronological study gives not only a picture of the embassies and their diplomatic workings but also of the political and historical scheme of events in a very important and troubled era in the Greek and Roman worlds. It further throws light on the historiography of the main sources, Polybius and Livy.





Betty Ruth Louison was born on January 10, 1919, in Fall River, Massachusetts. She is the daughter of Louis and Anne (Price) Louison of Newport, Rhode Island.

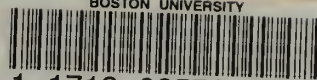
After graduating from Rogers High School in Newport, she entered Pembroke College in Brown University, where she graduated magna cum laude in 1939, with final highest honors in her major field, the Classics. She was also elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

In 1941, she received the M. A. degree in History from Boston University, where she held a graduate assistantship from 1940 to 1943, under which she also studied for the Ph. D. She has also had three years' of teaching experience.





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